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MEMOIRS

OF

GENERAL LAFAYETTE,

VOL. I.

LONDON:
G. SCHULZE, 13, POLAND STREET.

GENERAL LAFAYETTE.

MEMOIRS

OF

GENERAL LAFAYETTE

AND OF

THE FRENCH REVOLUTION OF 1830.

BY B. SARRANS,

SECRETARY TO GENERAL LAFAYETTE.

IN TWO VOLUMES.

VOL. I.

LONDON:

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PREFACE.

In the following Work, it is my intention to speak of political affairs, and of the political men in the midst of whom we live. I shall speak of them as if they no longer existed, or as if they were far removed from us.

I shall describe things as they appeared to me—as I saw them. I shall tell nothing but the truth, but I shall tell the whole truth.

The nature of the facts which I mean to disclose requires that I should frankly explain the source whence I have drawn my information.

The facts to which I refer are comprehended in that part of this Work which treats of the Revolution of July. The rest has already had its place in the domain of history.

I therefore trust that the readers of my book, will not rashly doubt its veracity, or attribute its appearance to any one to whom the conception of the work does not belong.

The truth is, and I confess it at once, that I have been guilty of an indiscretion, perhaps it will be said of an abuse of confidence; however, I am proud to say my conscience tells me that in this matter, I have only done what my duty as a good citizen required me to do.

In fact, unpublished letters, private thoughts, communications within closed doors, form the principal part of this Work; and many of these letters, these thoughts, these communications have reference to two men whom the Revolution of July first invested with the new destinies of France. But it will be asked how did such information—for the information is most important, reach me, a humble journalist? —A few words on my individual position, before and after the Revolution of July will suffice I hope to explain this enigma.

Honored from early youth with the inestimable friendship of Lafayette I had long been in the habit of collecting from his lips, or extracting from his written recollections, notes on the most

important circumstances, and most characteristic traits of his long and noble career.

My object was to supply in some measure the immense chasm which the absence of his memoirs may leave in the annals of our country; for neither anxiety for his future fame, the interest of history, or the urgent solicitations of his friends have hitherto induced him to devote himself to so important a labour. Some explanations on points of his political life, little, or imperfectly understood, some corrections of historical errors, are all that our most earnest requests could ever obtain from his patriotism, which being altogether real and disinterested allows but few considerations of self to mix with it.

The notes to which I allude lay scattered in my portfolio, when the explosion of the three days placed Lafayette for the second time at the head of a great revolution.

That momentous event rendered the relations, which, through the kindness of the General had been established between him and me, more frequent and intimate, especially when to crown that kindness he did me the honour to appoint me his aide-de-camp. As the friend and aide-de-camp of Lafayette from the days of the Hotel-de-Ville to the

day on which he resigned the command of the National Guard, it will easily be conceived that my opportunities of observation were great. What I saw, and what I heard, will form the subject of my present Work.

Meanwhile my appointment imposed on me only duties for the occasion: my situation as writer was not changed, my views continued the same as before, and the desire of sketching the character of the great citizen whom I had before my eyes, naturally increased with the new facilities which my temporary position near his person afforded.

Moreover I felt that the events which were about to develope themselves would become the culminating point, the soul of my Work. Half a century and two revolutions were, I then believed, to be wound up in the space of a few weeks. A king and a court, monarchical legitimacy, and the sovereignty of the people, slavery and liberty, were once again to be brought face to face. Salutary lessons might arise out of this conflict. I was a writer by profession; these lessons were my subject, and I seized upon them for the benefit of my country.

I accordingly enriched myself with all the papers, the existence of which my accidental functions

revealed to me. I filled my tablets and my memory with all the historical information which continual communication with the individuals then at the head of authority, placed within my reach.

My connections, as the reader will perceive on perusing my book, were not confined to the circle of the staff of the National Guard. Other distinguished persons also honored me with their confidence. Thus, for example, I was indebted to a well known friend of the imperial family for the possession of Prince Joseph's Correspondence with General Lafayette;—to chance for the three letters from the General to Louis Philippe, and to various members of the Cabinet of the 3rd of November for the discovery of some private scenes of high interest.

These, and these alone, are the sources from which I have obtained a knowledge of the political events, which I now communicate to my fellow citizens. Future leisure will perhaps enable me to submit to their indulgence the fruits of longer and more important investigations.

Have I abused the confidence of M. Lafayette, or of any other person? I see no reason to fear that I have. My book reveals nothing that was

confided to me. I tell only what I have seen, read, and heard:—neither more nor less.

Shall I be so unfortunate as to displease the General by my frankness? Certainly not; for he, who all his life adopted the maxim of thinking aloud, and of keeping as far as regarded himself nothing secret from the public, can take umbrage only at falsehood. I tell the truth.

If, however, contrary to my expectation, these Volumes should cause the least dissatisfaction to the man whom I revere more than any other in France, I should be deeply grieved, though I should derive some consolation from the very consciousness of the sacrifice I have made to the performance of a duty: for there are duties to which every thing, even the friendship of a great man, ought to be sacrificed.

General Lafayette and some other eminent individuals may blame my indiscretion; but their honesty is my guarantee that they will not deny a single fact which concerns them in this work. One word more. In taking a rapid survey of the great revolutions which have changed the face of the modern world; on looking back upon those stormy and difficult times which have effected the

regeneration of one hemisphere, and prepared that of another, Lafayette appears to me the highest and purest personification of the principle of order and liberty. In America, as in Europe, in all times and in all places, I have found him upright and respected, wherever liberty needed support, weakness help, justice courage, the execution of the laws devotedness and energy, in short, wherever the people wished to gain possession of their primitive sovereignty.

In the course of my task, I have been led into more sinuosities than I at first formed any idea of. But is it my fault if all the circumstances of the life of such a man are interesting to liberty; if every incident of his history has in it something which imperiously subdues and commands;—something in short, which forbids the writer detaching a single stone from the magnificent structure?

This must be my excuse for the pages I have devoted to the events preceding the Revolution of July, and also for my ample developement, of the parliamentary opinions of Lafayette during the two last sessions. On the one hand, these events were linked to the Revolution, and I conceived it my duty to trace, without curtailment, the succes-

sion of causes which brought about that great catastrophe; on the other hand, these opinions are so many correlations, the absence of which would have rendered the plan of my Work incomplete.

INTRODUCTION.

"In spite of his faults, which are the honorable faults of virtue, Lafayette affords the example of all that a great citizen ought to be. Whether adorned with civic crowns, or persecuted by revolutionary proscription—whether loaded with the chains of the despots whom he unflinchingly accused, or doomed to unjustifiable obscurity,—the serenity of a pure conscience has left him only the wrongs of his country to deplore."

LACRETELLE THE ELDER.

If we explore the annals of the world and consult history, no spectacle more wonderful than that afforded by the present aspect of affairs claims our attention. The day predicted

by the Apocalypse when all are to speak, without being understood, seems to have arrived in France. Parties vie one with another in artifice. One affects confidence in the midst of alarm, another, joy, when overwhelmed with grief;—one, which lives only on its fond recollections of the past, pretends to plead for the future, and another yields to existing things only to arrive the more surely at things which do not exist. Interested policy every where takes place of honesty and energy, and the spirit of expectation and disguise overrules all circumstances.

All this is unworthy of the France of July 1830. However, events are crowding on and the moment approaching when it is necessary that opinions should be defined in clear and precise terms.

It is this multiplicity of interests and views which I have endeavoured to describe in the present work. My object is to develope truth without ornament, and to simplify, if possible, the complex situation in which we were placed by the great event of 1830.

The error produced by this general confusion, consists in believing, or causing to be believed, that the revolution of July took France by sur-

prise, that it plunged her into embarrassment and endangered her very existence, because, it is alleged, France had not risen to the level of that event.

No doubt France entered upon a new era on the 29th of July, 1830. But our past history presents no fact whose consequence may not be traced in that revolution. The elective monarchy of the second race, the military monarchy of Clovis, the monastic monarchy of the Thierrys and the Childerics, the imperial sceptre of Charlemagne, the feudal monarchy, (a sort of federal republican oligarchy), the monarchy of the States of Philippe-le-Bel, the monarchy of the Parliaments, the absolute monarchy of Louis XIV, the representative monarchy of Louis XVI, the convention, Bonaparte and the Bourbons, have carried us, through every species of royalty to the program of the Hotel-de-Ville.

The revolution of July is, therefore, the triumph of the progressive civilization of France:—it is the unravelling event, destined to prepare the catastrophe of the great drama, of which the first four acts were performed in three different ages:—

these acts were the League, the Fronde, the Revolution of 1789 and the Empire.

The Ligue, by opposing the purified worship of protestantism to the catholic spirit; the Fronde, by wishing to ape the English parliaments; the revolution of 1789, first by attempting English and American experiments and next by indulging in all the madness of the forum and the market-place, had, at bottom, only one object in view: namely, to substitute equality for privileges, and obedience to the laws for the authority of individuals.

But at all these different periods, the spirit of reformation committed a mortal error, that of losing sight of its starting point, and sitting up as its models, systems which had decayed in the revolutions of history; as though society could be reformed otherwise than with the ideas of the age in which it exists.

These are the rocks on which have split by turns, the four reorganizations which France has attempted since 1793. The first, that in which endeavours were made to establish, by the guillotine, the institutions of the Greeks and Romans, was a retrograde conception, and

consequently, radically erroneous. It would be about as wise to force manhood to resume the habiliments of childhood. Despotism, as might naturally be expected, took its revenge.

Bonaparte, in wishing to revive the empire of Charlemagne, hazarded the second experiment. This was less absurd than the first, inasmuch as it revived recollections less remote, and was undertaken by a powerful genius and supported by a nation enamoured of glory. And yet the Napoleon edifice fell, because it was founded on two iniquitous principles:—the subjugation of France by a man, and the subjugation of Europe by France.

The third experiment, that which replaced a fatal dynasty on the throne, tended to import to France the political constitution of England. This attempt proved as vain as the two former, not so much because the restoration denied to France the actual liberty which Great Britain enjoyed, but because the spirit of France demanded a system very superior to that which was imposed by conquest on a nation insulated from all others, and which is in reality nothing but an artful modification of the theological and feudal system, having for its object to

make the aristocracy rule through royalty. Now this was contrary to the precedents of French civilization, contrary to the march of political intelligence among the people during forty years, and to the prevailing sentiment of equality, which tends incessantly to diminish not only the virtual power of every aristocracy, but likewise privileges of every denomination.

Thus, from the origin of the French monarchy, to the revolution of July, we sketched out all the known forms of government, without being able to secure any one of them, because all were to us exotic creations, imitations devoid of analogy with respect to manners, wants, or time.

Suddenly the ordonnances of Charles X caused a commotion; this commotion produced an insurrection and the insurrection a revolution. Out of this revolution arose a new principle: that of popular monarchy, surrounded by *republican institutions;* and the people were told: this is *the best of republics.*

The people who had courage to fight and ability to conquer, had the generosity to cede the victory to those who had not fought: they put faith in the best of republics.

The best of republics!....This was untrue. It would have been more just to have said: the arrangement most compatible, on the one hand, with the spirit of equality, which is spreading over the world; and on the other, with the prejudices left in France, by the false republic; in other words, the arrangement best calculated to fill up the interval of ages, without checking the natural course of events.

A monarchy with republican forms and institutions, was therefore the system best suited to the various shades of opinion, which brought about the revolution of July; I may almost say the best suited to the present political circumstances of Europe; for, if the dissolution of the old monarchies is every where manifest, owing either to their weakness, or their crimes; if democracy is fermenting on all sides, it would be an abuse of generalization to pretend, that republican tendencies, have alone caused the destruction of all the thrones, which have fallen within two years.

The spirit of democracy has, no doubt, largely contributed to these revolutions, but it is evident, that they were determined by glaring faults and unwise conflicts. Charles X, Wil-

liam, Don Pedro, the Czarewitch, and the Duke of Brunswick, might have averted the storms that assailed them; and the facility with which their subjects have adopted new monarchical forms, seems at least, to prove that the incompatibility, between the two principles, has not yet arrived at its extreme point.

France, accordingly, adopted popular monarchy surrounded by republican institutions; and even those who had nothing to lose, enthusiastically greeted an arrangement, calculated to preserve everything. This phenomenon struck terror in the minds of privileged men. They beheld in it, a degree of civilization which proved that democracy might plant itself in a bed, where it would one day thrive and flourish unimpeded by obstacles, or misfortunes. They then endeavoured to anathemize *republican institutions*. These words, said they, signify nothing more than *jacquerie*, *jacobinism*, *faubouriens*, *canaille*, war and scaffolds. Thus, the most noble of human conceptions—the republic—became, in the hands of the enemies, of the revolution of July a moveable scarecrow, by the aid of which they succeeded in alarming the new dynasty and a part of the nation, (which once more mistook the

spirit of the age) respecting the necessary operation of the representative mechanism. They traced back all the phases of the first revolution, carefully omitting the principle of 1789; they pourtrayed 1793, concealed beneath the disguise of *republican institutions*, and ready a second time, to devour the monarchy. Finally, all interests, founded on error, and all old prejudices combined to check the progress of the revolution of July; and from that moment nothing was heard, but a long anathema against republics and republicans, who wished once again to level social inequalities.

To restore the words *Republican Institutions* to their true signification, I have undertaken to write the political life of the only man who has taken part in the three revolutions of 1776, 1789 and 1830. I have chosen Lafayette as the most perfect personification of the system of 1789 joined to the American doctrines, which must not be confounded with the Greek or Roman masquerade, represented in the convention. These two things are not to be compared.

What then is indicated by the idea of Franklin and Washington in reference to the republican institutions, with which Lafayette wished to surround the citizen monarchy? Nothing more

than the progress of time, and the triumphs of human liberty. This system has, in reality, no object, and has produced no result, but what is good. Here religion, philosophy and politics are all united; all indicate the same reason and the same good sense; it is the realized tendency of a whole nation towards liberty, and the full developement of its powers; it is, in other words, the equal distribution of taxes, the equal admissibility of the citizens to public employments, freedom of religious worship, the liberty of the press, personal liberty, national representation, trial by jury, and the responsibility of the depositaries of power, all guaranteed and brought into action.

This is what General Lafayette wished to establish, without confining himself to the external forms of the American system, nor to the governmental mechanism of the United States. Such are the republican institutions which he wished to groupe round the citizen monarchy, that unique privilege, which, being assented to by all, was no longer a privilege.

Will it still be said that this fusion was impracticable? It may be so now, but it was not then.

What was demanded by the program of the

Hotel-de-Ville, that was subversive of the monarchical principle?

An electoral law, which should not value at so many crowns, that knowledge which changes the face of the world:—this law exists in England, in Holland, in Belgium and in Sweden.

A municipal law which should not make notables nominated by notables:—there are in Europe despotic governments, which grant to their subjects this right which the monarchy of July believes to be incompatible with its existence.

Councils of Departments elected by the citizens at large, and invested with the power of superintending local interests:—what was there anti-royal in this?

An organization of the national guard, which should not preclude the formation of rural battalions, and not leave to the caprice of power, the election of superior chiefs:—was this organization hostile to monarchy?

The emancipation of public education from the dominion of universities: monarchy exists in the one half of Europe conjointly with this liberty.

A liberty of the press, not rendered an absolute monopoly by fiscal demands:—monarchy exists in England, where these restraints do not exist.

A ministerial responsibility which should not be without means of application, and which should not be confined to cases of concussion and treason:—was this attacking Louis-Philippe?

A civil list commensurate with the simplicity of a popular throne:—to propose less than twelve millions for Louis-Philippe; was this to conspire against his royalty?

A peerage which should have its origin in election, and which should represent something besides abuses and antiquated prejudices:—what had the young monarchy, that monarchy which originated with the people, in common with those prejudices and abuses?

Judges who should not have Louis-Philippe on their tongues and Charles X in their hearts:—who appeared to be more interested in this reform than Louis-Philippe?

The abolition of the tax on salt, the diminution of the tax on wines and spirits, the abolition of the lottery, the tax on gaming tables, and other taxes repugnant to morality:—surely Louis-Philippe, born among the people, could cherish no sympathy for these political impurities!

Finally, to exact respect abroad, and to maintain the proper attitude of a nation whose liberty and independence were destined to be long threat-

ened:—could the endeavour to save France betray a wish to destroy the royalty of Louis-Philippe?

Such are the republican institutions which Lafayette would have adapted to circumstances:—the monarchy of the barricades, founded upon and identified with popular interests; nothing more. In this way Lafayette and France unstood the program of the Hotel-de-Ville, which is now represented as containing the germ of all crimes and calamities.

Calamities!.... Look at the United-States. Crimes!.... Examine the life of Lafayette, the type incarnate of republican institutions. What patriotic head rises above his? Who, during fifty-six years has more cordially detested crime and attacked injustice? Who has more honorably enjoyed the glory of the dungeon?* Who has exercised greater influence over the various fac-

* "In the prisons of Olmutz, like a pinnacle of integrity, he still remained firm in his attachment to the same principles. He is a man whose views and conduct are perfectly upright. Whoever has observed him, may know before hand and with certainty what will be his course under any circumstances.... It is a singular phenomenon that a character like that of M. de Lafayette should have developed itself in the foremost rank of French gentlemen."—*Mme. de Staël.*

tions which have attempted to usurp the national sovereignty? Where, as Lacretelle asks, is the republican, who to be faithful to his oaths, sacrificed himself like Lafayette for the defence of a king? Who has done more for the maintenance of order and liberty? Who has shewn more sympathy and attachment to the rights of human nature? Who braved and harassed Bonaparte by the inflexibility of his principles? Where is the reputation sprung from the cause of the people, which fills the world with so much glory and commands such universal respect?

Such is the great citizen whom the adversaries of royalty surrounded with republican institutions represent, on the one hand, as an object of terror, and on the other, as a feeble man whose only merit is a superannuated fidelity to calamitous utopias.

You who have endured so many vices and crimes, can you not endure, for a brief space, the virtues of Lafayette!

MEMOIRS

OF

GENERAL LAFAYETTE

AND OF

THE REVOLUTION OF 1830.

LAFAYETTE (M. P. J. R. Y. Gilbert Motier) was born at Chavaniac, in Auvergne, on the 6th of September, 1757. Although his family was distinguished both in war and literature, and had produced many warriors, who had fought and died in the field of honor, yet the road, common to all, which Lafayette followed, places him in the rank of those men, who owe their elevation solely to themselves. His uncle was slain in Italy, while young; his father at Minden. He lost his mother at an early age. After completing

his studies at the college of the Plessis, he married, when sixteen years old, the daughter of the Duke d'Ayen,—Mlle. de Noailles, who was younger than himself, and who afterwards became so justly celebrated for her virtues, her courage and conjugal affection. The credit, which the Noailles enjoyed at court, secured for Lafayette a distinguished post, if he chose to accept it. The offer was made; and was resolutely rejected by him. His refusal, at an age so accessible to the seductions of power, was the result of his innate sense of liberty; and perhaps it will not be considered trifling to relate here a characteristic anecdote, which his professor of rhetoric, afterwards the superintendant of a Lyceum at Paris, was fond of telling. Being directed to paint a composition, the subject of which was, a fiery stallion made quiet and obedient by the shadow of the whip, the young Lafayette painted the horse in the act of throwing off his rider and recovering his liberty.

The news of the American insurrection against British oppression, decided his course of action. The measures which Lafayette took in favour of the American cause were conceived and conducted with great prudence and ability.

"Before he had embarked from France," says Dr. Ramsay*, "intelligence arrived in Europe, that the American insurgents, reduced "to the number of 2000 men, were fleeing "through Jersey, before a British force of "30,000. These unsatisfactory accounts so "completely destroyed what slight credit America possessed in Europe, at the commencement of the year 1777, that the American "commissioners at Paris, although they had "before encouraged Lafayette's design, were "not able to procure a vessel to enable him to "carry it into execution. Under these circumstances they thought it but honest to dissuade "him from the present prosecution of his perilous enterprize. It was in vain that they "acted so candid a part; his zeal to serve a "distressed country was not abated by her misfortunes. '*Hitherto,*' said he to them, with an "energy which real patriotism could alone inspire, '*I have done no more than wish success to "your cause: I now go to serve it. The more it "has fallen in public opinion, the greater will be "the effect of my departure. Since you cannot pro-*

* History of the American Revolution.

" *cure a vessel, I will purchase and fit out one at* " *my own expense; and I will also undertake to* " *transmit any despatches you may desire to the* " *Congress.*' Having accordingly embarked in " a vessel, which he purchased for the purpose, " he arrived in Charlestown early in 1777, and " soon after joined the American army. Con- " gress at once resolved that he should have the " rank of Major-general in the army, a post " which he would only accept under two condi- " tions, which are evidences of his noble and " generous feelings. The one was, that he should " be allowed to serve at his own expense: and " the other, that he should be permitted to com- " mence his career of arms in the character of " a volonteer."

The courts of London and Versailles, whose disapprobation and interdiction he disregarded, in vain attempted to intercept his passage, which was affected with no less boldness than success. Being stopped at Port Passage, where his vessel was obliged to put in, he succeeded in repassing the frontier and soon putting again to sea. But learning that despatches had been sent out to the stations in the West Indies, with orders to seize him, he ventured on the direct course to the insur-

gent coast at that time covered with English cruisers; thus justifying the motto, *cur non?* which he had assumed on his departure.

Lafayette was wounded in the first battle (Brandywine;) but this did not prevent him from performing, at that memorable engagement, a great service to the cause of the independence, by rallying the troops at the bridge of Chester. A short time after this misfortune, he joined General Greene in the Jerseys, and beat, with a few militia men, a corps of English and Hessians. This success procured him the command of a division. Being appointed in the course of the ensuing winter, Commander in Chief in the north—a command, which a stupid cabal against Washington had succeeded in making independent of that great man, Lafayette refused to accept the post, but on the express condition of being subordinate to him.* Forced from want of means to abandon the attack of Canada, he received the thanks of the Congress for the devotion and zeal which he displayed in those circumstances. He then de-

* It will be seen by reference to the American historians that, at that period so critical for Washington, the fidelity of his young friend, was both determined and useful.

fended a vast frontier with a handful of men;—opposed the English influence in a great council of savage tribes; and received, throughout the extent of his command, the oath then prescribed of renunciation of allegiance to the King of Great Britain, and of Fidelity to the United States.

At the opening of the campaign, to which he was called by Washington, Lafayette succeeded by his manœuvres in bringing off without loss, a body of two thousand four hundred men, who with their cannons had been surrounded at Barenhill, by the English army commanded by Generals Howe and Clinton. He commanded, in the battle gained at Monmouth, at first an advance-guard and afterwards the second line of the army. From thence he conducted a detachment, intended to second the movements of the Comte d'Estaing, conformably to the treaty of alliance which public opinion, to whose manifestation the departure of Lafayette had not a little contributed, had induced the cabinet of Versailles to conclude with the insurgents. Indeed, the contemporaneous accounts shew pretty plainly to what a degree the interest for the young Lafayette had been excited,

and the effect which it produced upon public opinion. Thus, when the Ambassadors of the United States, accompanied by all the Americans present in the capital, appeared for the first time at court, they thought it necessary to pay a visit to the young wife of Lafayette, for the purpose of performing an act of solemn homage to her.

At the attack of Rhode Island, Lafayette commanded the left wing of Sullivan's Army. The memoirs of the time, and particularly the "Life of Washington" written by Mr. Marshall, shew with what zeal he defended his countrymen on the occasion of the retreat of the French squadron to Boston, and how his influence likewise served to check the first germs of misunderstanding between the two nations. Returning rapidly from Boston, in order to the evacuation of Rhode Island, he successfully effected the re-embarkation of the rear-guard. On this occasion the Congress voted him fresh thanks. A short time afterwards, the Commissioners sent to America by England, but rejected by the Congress, having indulged in expressions insulting to France, the young Lafayette sent a challenge to their president Lord Carlisle, which his lordship did not

accept. He afterwards addressed the Congress, and asked for leave to visit his native country. Resolutions extremely honorable to him were passed, accompanied by private instructions, and an express order was sent to the ambassadors in Europe, to consult in every matter with Lafayette. The Congress voted him a sword, which was delivered to him by Franklin. On it were engraved several of his memorable exploits, and he was himself represented as wounding the British lion, and receiving a laurel from America, delivered from her chains.

Thus Lafayette, having first discovered and repressed, near the coast of France, a conspiracy formed on board an American frigate,* by some English prisoners, whom his dislike of the impressment of seamen had induced him to admit into the crew of the frigate, revisited his country, after two years of absence and of battles. He was at this time twenty-two years of age. Lafayette was received with enthusiasm by the public and even by the court. The traces of this double popularity of the young republican soldier are perceptible in all the memoirs of the epoch*. He

* See the memoirs of Madame Campan, and the verses of Gaston and Bayard, copied by the hand of the Queen; the journal

made no other use of the general good opinion, but to serve the cause of the Americans, He prepared, in concert with Paul Jones, an expedition, having for its object to make the maritime English towns contribute to the advantage of the United States. This expedition had for its foundation, the grand project of a descent on England. Having obtained a situation in the staff of the Marshal de Vaux, he never ceased to solicit succours for America; and although he had been told at Philadelphia not to make any application for troops for the interior of the United States, he exceeded his instructions, foreseeing

of her foster-brother Weber: see also the contemporaneous accounts of the hommage paid by Voltaire at the height of his glory to the young Madame de Lafayette; the poem presented by Cerutti to the Emperor Joseph during his travels, in which the following verse is to be found:

"*Lafayette à vingt ans d'un monde était l'appui.*"

When also we consider the allusions at the theatres, the testimony of enthusiasm in the commercial towns, at Bordeaux, at Marseilles, it is not to be wondered at, that the feeling, excited by his departure, contrasting strongly with the decided disapprobation of his conduct expressed by the two governments of London and Versailles, should have had a great influence on public opinion at this period.

that it would not be long before the propriety of his conduct in this point would be acknowledged. At last, after many conferences with the ministers of Louis XVI, it was decided that a squadron should be sent to Rhode island, and that a corps, commanded by Rochambeau, should be placed at the disposal of Washington. Franklin and Lafayette also obtained a loan of several millions. Finally, he arrived in a French frigate at Boston, where in spite of the ignorance of the people, with respect to the measures, which he had been the means of effecting, he was received with enthusiasm by the population, whose affection and confidence, which he had already secured, he has since preserved during a period of no less than fifty-four years.

During the campaign of 1783, Lafayette commanded the light infantry, (a chosen division, which considered itself as especially associated with his fortune) and also the dragoons, who formed the advance guard of the Americans. He accompanied Washington to the interview with the French generals; and had nearly become with him the victim of Arnold's treason. The following winter, he marched upon Portsmouth, in Virginia, on purpose to assist at an attack,

concerted with the French; but which failed in consequence of the unfortunate result of M. Destouche's naval action. On returning towards the north, Lafayette met a courier from Washington, bringing him intelligence that the enemy were about to proceed with all their force to Virginia, and directing him to defend, as long as possible that state, on the security of which depended the fate of all the southern portion of the United-States. The feeble corps which he commanded stood in want of every thing. However, he borrowed what was requisite upon the credit of his own name. The women worked for the troops, who in their turn served without pay. He prevented desertion by appealing to the honor and affection of the soldiers: and by making dismissal a punishment.

His first endeavor was to reach Richmond, the capital of that state, by forced marches, because all the magazines were placed there. These he had the satisfaction of preserving, by arriving a few hours before the enemy. It was then that Lord Cornwallis, who was very superior in point of numbers, and had the internal navigation at his command, wrote to London, that "the boy could not escape him."

We will not follow the American historians through the details of this five months' campaign. The great events of the last war have diminished the interest of the advantages gained at this period, which, though doubtlessly important, were obtained by feeble means. We shall content ourselves with stating the results which were the avoiding a battle, effecting junctions of the greatest importance, securing the magazines, and lastly, after a series of manœuvres and a few engagements, the enclosing of Lord Cornwallis and the whole of his army, in a certain position, which had been previously fixed upon as the most convenient place for the Comte de Grasse, on his arrival from the West Indies, to blockade by sea, whilst the corps of Lafayette, reinforced by three thousand French, disembarked under the orders of the Marquis de Saint-Simon, took up a position at Williamsburgh which Lord Cornwallis believed to be impregnable. Grasse and Saint-Simon urged Lafayette to attack the enemy; but being convinced that his adversary could not escape, he was desirous of sparing the effusion of blood, and waited for Washington to bring up Rochambeau's corps, and the division of Lincoln. This junction having been effected, Lafayette, at the head of the

American light infantry, carried one of the enemy's redoubts at the point of the bayonet. The French grenadiers, commanded by the Baron de Viomesnil also took another. The capitulation of York Town decided the fate of this war. These events took place in October, 1781.

Having returned to France on board of an American frigate, Lafayette was attached to the grand expedition at Cadiz, whither he conducted eight thousand men from Brest. The Comte d'Estaing, commander of the land and sea forces of France and Spain, having determined to attack Jamaica with sixty vessels and twenty-four thousand men, Lafayette was appointed chief of the staff of the combined armies. The ultimate object of this expedition was to proceed to New York, after which Lafayette was to have penetrated into Canada by the river St. Lawrence, and revolutionized the country. But the departure of the expedition was prevented by the peace of 1783, of which he was the first to send the news to Congress, his attendance at Madrid having been required by the American chargé d'affaires, in consequence of the delay which had taken place in the establishment of political relations between the two countries. Here his energetic

representations had the effect of obtaining an arrangement of all matters in dispute, within the space of eight days.*

A short time after this, Lafayette paid a visit to the United-States. His journey through the country presents the spectacle of a continual fete.† He was requested to assist in arranging a treaty with the Indians; his influence with them being well known. He was received in state by the Congress; and addressed them in a speech, the concluding words of which were as follows:—

"May the prosperity and the happiness of the "United-States attest the advantages of their "government! May this great temple, which "we have just erected to liberty always be a

* An account of the diplomatic negociations of the United-States during the first years of their independence, taken from the archives of the Congress, has lately been published in America. Those in which Lafayette was engaged, occupy a third of the work; and it is easy to recognize, in the frank but dignified manner which are so successfully employed, in the name of this rising state, towards the courts of Madrid and Vienna, the tone which he was anxious that our diplomacy should adopt, in the early period of the revolution of 1830.

† See the publication of the time, and especially the third volume of the *Cultivateur Américain* by M. Crevecœur.

" lesson to oppressors, an example to the op-
" pressed, a refuge for the rights of the human
" race, and an object of delight to the manes of
" its founders!"—The state of Virginia placed a bust of Lafayette in the capital, and presented the city of Paris with a similar one; which was placed in the grand hall of the Hotel-de-Ville, afterwards the Hall of the Electors of 1789.

In 1785, Lafayette went to visit the courts, and inspect the armies of Germany; and although he carried with him the republican principles, for which he was distinguished at the court of France, he was not the less, on that account, treated with respect and kindness. Joseph II, and Frederick the Great, whom he accompanied to all his reviews, especially received him in the most flattering manner. It was then that he first saw horse artillery, and pledged himself to introduce that species of force into the French army as soon as possible.

On his return to his native country, he, in conjunction with Malesherbes, turned his attention to the condition of the protestants, in whose interest, he had since the year 1785 made a voyage to Nismes, and with the concurrence of Marshal de Castries, he devoted a considerable

sum to the purpose of effecting the gradual freedom of the negroes. Some of these unfortunate men, who had been purchased at Cayenne, for the purpose of being restored to liberty, were, in spite of the remonstrances of Madame de Lafayette, sold as slaves by the party, which triumphed on the 10th of August, 1792.

Lafayette aided the Ambassador Jefferson in the formation of a league against the Barbary corsairs,—a league which the courts of Versailles and London, taking these pirates under their protection, rendered ineffective.

Afterwards, when Holland was menaced by Prussia, it appears from the work of M. de Segur, and from a letter written by M. de Saint-Priest, that Lafayette would have been invited to their aid by the Batavian patriots, if the treachery of the French ministry had not hastened their ruin. The indignation which Lafayette manifested on this occasion was similar to that which he recently displayed at the tribune, when the present government acted the same part with respect to the Austrian invasion of Italy, as the Archbishop of Sens did with respect to the Prussian invasion of Holland. The Dutch were not unmindful of his zeal in

their behalf, and during his long and cruel proscription, they never ceased to shew him the strongest proofs of their affection and gratitude.

In 1787, he was a member of the Assembly of Notables. He denounced many abuses, proposed the suppression of *lettres de cachet*, and of state prisons; obtained a decree favorable to the civil liberty of the Protestants; and, unseconded, made a formal demand for the convocation of a *national assembly*. "What!" said the Count d'Artois, "do you make a motion for "the States-General?" "Yes," and even more "than that," was his reply.

Lafayette was a member, of the Provincial Assembly of Auvergne. As a landed proprietor in Brittany, he was the first to sign the protests of that Province, against arbitrary power. At the second Assembly of the Notables he earnestly advocated the double representation of the Communes.

As deputy to the States General, Lafayette supported the motion of Mirabeau for the removal of the troops, and procured its immediate adoption. On the 11th July, in the midst of the assembly, then surrounded by troops, and

strongly menaced, he proposed his famous declaration of rights. It is as follows:—

" Nature has made men free and equal. The distinctions necessary for social order, are only founded on general utility.

" Every man is born with rights inalienable and imprescriptible; such are, the liberty of all his opinions, the care of his honor and his life, the right of property, the uncontrolled disposal of his person, his industry, and all his faculties; the communication of all his thoughts by all possible means; the pursuit of happiness, and the resistance of oppression.

" The exercise of natural rights has no limits, but such as will ensure their enjoyment to other members of society.

" No man can be subject to any laws, excepting those which have received the assent of himself or his representatives, and which are promulgated beforehand and applied legally.

" The principle of all sovereignty resides in the nation. Nobody, no individual can possess authority, which does not expressly emanate from it.

" Government has for its sole object, the ge-

neral welfare. This interest requires that the legislative, executive and judicial powers, should be distinct and defined, and that their organization should secure the free representation of the citizens, the responsibility of the agents, and the impartiality of the judges.

" The laws ought to be clear, precise, and uniform for all citizens.

" The subsidies ought to be freely consented to, and fairly imposed.

" And as the introduction of abuses and the right of succeeding generation make the revision of every human establishment necessary, it must be allowed to the nation to have, in certain cases, an extraordinary convocation of deputies, whose sole object should be the examination and correction, if necessary, of the vices of the constitution."

This declaration of the rights of man, the first ever published in Europe, and the most simple, formed the foundation of the one adopted by the constituent assembly. At this time, the assembly having declared itself permanent, nominated Lafayette as their vice-president; in which capacity he presided during the nights of the 13th and 14th July, and caused a decree to

pass constituting the responsibility of the crown's advisers. On the 15th he was sent to Paris, as head of a deputation of sixty members, and was there proclaimed commandant-general of the civic guard. On the next day, he caused the order for the destruction of the Bastile to be published; on the 17th he received the King, at the head of nearly two hundred thousand men variously armed.* After saving a great number of victims from popular fury, and despairing of being able to preserve the lives of Foulon and Berthier, he resigned his commission. The re-

* Lafayette, says Toulongeon, in speaking of this epoch, Lafayette, whose name and whose reputation, acquired in America, were associated with liberty itself, Lafayette was at the head of the Parisian national guard. He enjoyed at once, that entire confidence and public esteem which are due to great qualities. The faculty of raising the spirits, or rather of infusing fresh courage into the heart, was natural to him. His external appearance was youthful and bold, which is always pleasing to the multitude. His manners were simple, popular, and engaging. He possessed every thing that is wanting to commence, and terminate a revolution:—the brilliant quality of military activity, and the calm confidence of courage in times of public emotion. Lafayette was equal to every thing, if every thing had been done fairly and openly; but he was unacquainted with the dark and narrow road of intrigue.

presentations of the citizens, and particularly of the electors, and of the virtuous Bailly, renewed in him, the hope of being able to arrest the acts of violence which were being committed; and he again devoted himself to this humane duty. The sixty districts of Paris unanimously confirmed his nomination as commandant-general, and pledged themselves, by special decrees, to second him in his efforts to preserve liberty and public order.

Shortly afterwards, Lafayette proposed, at the Hotel-de-Ville, the regular institution of an armed force, under the title of the National Guard. The old white colour was joined to blue and red, the colours of the city. "Gentlemen," said he addressing the assembly, "I bring "you a cockade which shall make the tour of "the world; and an institution at once civic, "and military, which shall change the system "of European tactics and reduce all absolute "governments to the alternative of being beaten, "if they do not imitate it; or of being overthrown "if they dare to imitate it." Throughout the whole country a national guard was organized on the same principles as that in Paris, under the influence of their chief, who, however, refused

the special commands, which deputation and addresses, from all quarters, offered him.

It appears from Bailly's memoirs, that at the commencement of September 1789, Lafayette succeeded, not without great difficulty,. and the employment of his personal influence, in getting a deputation to be sent from the commune to the national assembly, to request some immediate reforms in criminal jurisprudence, such as the making all proceedings public, the communication of the accusations to the accused, allowing them advocates, the free intercourse of the accused with their families and friends, the confronting of witnesses reforms which were exceedingly necessary; and which were introduced in the only three political trials which took place during the early part of the revolution. M. de Seze, advocate of the Baron Bezenval utterred a high eulogy upon these reforms, as may still be seen in the memoirs and journals of the time.

While in Paris the magistrates and the national guard were exerting every effort to maintain public order, new conspiracies were hatching at Versailles. The signal was given at the famous repast of the body guards. The tricoloured cockade

was trampled upon; the ladies distributed white cockades; and cries of *à bas la nation!* were heard. These provocations, the scarcity of bread and the intrigues of the factions produced a violent commotion at the Hotel-de-Ville on the 5th of October. Immense crowds gathered on all sides, exclaiming "to Versailles!" and "we want bread!" Lafayette stemmed this torrent for the space of eight hours; but on learning that from various points of the capital, several thousands of infuriated people were repairing to Versailles with arms and cannon, he demanded and obtained from the Commune an order to proceed thither himself with a portion of the national guard. On arriving at Versailles he caused the guards to renew their oath of fidelity to the nation, the law and the king. Having solicited for himself and the two commissioners of the Commune admission to the court yards, which were then filled by the regiment of Swiss guards, he advanced into the apartments of the castle, which were crowded with people. A gloomy silence prevailed which was broken only by one of the spectators exclaiming: "Behold Cromwell!" "Cromwell," replied Lafayette, "would

not have entered this place alone." His behaviour to the King, and the language he addressed to him were admitted, even by the courtiers to be full of respect and affection. However, Louis XVI consigned to him only the *guard of the posts, which had belonged to the late French guards.* The taking possession of the other guarded points would have been an act of unheard of presumption. The castle, the inner court and the gardens were therefore entrusted to the body guards and the Swiss. At two o'clock in the morning, after having visited his posts, Lafayette sent to inform the King, that he wished to speak with him again. He was informed that the King was in bed. After five o'clock tranquillity was perfectly restored, and Lafayette, exhausted with fatigue, proceeded to his head-quarters, (which were established near the castle) to receive the reports, to write to Paris, and to take a little refreshment and rest. Suddenly a patrole-officer presented himself before him. A party of ruffians, who had concealed themselves in the shrubberies of the garden, had effected an entrance into the palace, killed two of the body guards, and penetrated to the apartments of the Queen, who,

thanks to the courageous resistance of two of her guards, had time to effect her escape to the King.

To order the first post to hasten to the Queen's apartments, which were unfortunately barricaded on that side, (an obstacle which favoured the flight of the assailants)—to leap upon the first horse he could find, and whilst the national grenadiers saved the royal family and the body guards, (of whom it may be observed, that all the officers, except four, had retired to rest,)—to rescue from the mob which was pouring in on all sides, other body guards who had been seized in the streets: all this was the work of the national guard, and its chief. Lafayette being left alone amidst an infuriated mob, one of them demanded his head, which he saved only by ordering the arrest of the maniac by his companions.

The King having held a council and announced his determination to proceed to Paris, Lafayette alarmed at demonstrations which still threatened the Queen, ventured to propose that she should appear with him in the balcony; there not being able to make himself heard by the multitude, he conceived the happy idea of kissing the hand of Marie-Antoinette. "Vive la Reine!

vive Lafayette!" then resounded on all sides. He next led one of the body guards out on the balcony, and embraced him: "vivent les gardes du corps!" exclaimed the multitude. On Lafayette's return to the royal closet, Madame Adelaide, the aunt of Louis XVI embraced him and called him the saviour of the King and his family. This title of saviour was reiterated, for a few days, among the courtiers, the body guards, and individuals of all parties. To the time of their death, the King, Queen and Madame Elizabeth publicly rendered to Lafayette the justice of acknowledging that to him they were indebted for their preservation on that memorable occasion.

The court removed to Paris. It is false that the heads of the unfortunate guards were carried before the royal carriage, and it is equally untrue that the Duke of Orleans was seen at the castle at the time of the tumult. He did not arrive there until it was all ended; but his name had been compromised, and that was sufficient to prompt Lafayette in a conference which Mirabeau styles *very imperious on the one part, and very resigned on the other*, to persuade the prince to quit the kingdom for a time.

Lafayette wished that the body guard should

share with the national guard the duty of the palace. The aristocratic spirit of the officers opposed this, and besides the court was anxious that the King should appear to be a prisoner. Be this as it may, thus were frustrated at once, a counter-revolutionary plot, and the horrible design of a guilty faction.

Other acts of firmness contributed to the speedy restoration of public order. Some seditious individuals who had murdered a baker, were tried and hanged; and a troop of insurgent soldiers were stripped of their uniforms and conveyed to the prisons of Saint-Denis. Finally, though Lafayette often had popular movements to repress, and still more frequently to calm by persuasion, yet Paris enjoyed during two years astonishing tranquillity amidst the great fermentation.

The debates of the assembly afford an undeniable proof of the freedom of opinion. The liberty of the press, which was especially exercised upon men in power, was extreme in every point of view, from the counter-revolutionary journals and pamphlets to the writings of the well known Marat, a physician attached to

the establishment of the Count d'Artois. This man departed for London an aristocrat, two months before the 14th of July and returned a month after a furious demagogue and the daily assailant of Bailly and Lafayette. Amidst this conflict only three men were tried for state offences: viz: Bezenval, who was acquitted, the Prince de Lambesc who was in contumacy, and Favras, an officer of the household of Monsieur, afterwards Louis XVIII. That Prince came to the Hotel-de-Ville, meanly to declare that there existed no political relation between him and Favras, and to protest his attachment to the revolution. Favras was tried by the court of Chatelet, according to the old laws, but modified by new forms favorable to the accused. "The judges," said Lafayette, "are incapable of being influenced by fear, but if they were, it would be superfluous cowardice for I will answer for all." Accordingly, the courageous and discreet Favras in open court thanked the national guard for their exertions in protecting his person and the independence of his judges. He was condemned, though the evidence upon one of the principal charges against him, the

design of assassinating the mayor and the commandant general, was shaken by a letter from those two functionaries, tending to invalidate that accusation.

Lafayette frequently alluded in the national assembly to the riots which broke out in the various provinces. He proposed repressive decrees and compensations for the houses which were burnt in those riots, for which he in a great measure blamed the counter-revolutionary spirit. The idea that those anarchical excesses were encouraged by foreign influence, was frequently hinted at by Lafayette, and this was also the opinion of many of the purest friends of liberty and public order. "It is not for the Champ-de-Mars that you sacrifice me," said Bailly, "it is for the oath of the Tennis Court." We find, from the Memoirs of Madame Campan, that this opinion was also shared by the Queen. It was while demanding, in the tribunal, the adoption of rigid measures against the rioters, that Lafayette made use of the following words, for which he has been so often and so bitterly reproached, "Under despotism, the most sacred of duties is insurrection, under a free government, obedience to the laws."

Lafayette supported with all his power the firm

measures adopted against the garrison of Nancy, which had risen in insurrection, and he called for the approbation of the assembly on the conduct observed by M. de Bouillé on that occasion. He proposed the establishment of the English jury, in all its purity, and at the opening of those religious dissensions, out of which party spirit on both sides created a schism, Lafayette, in the assembly as well as in the exercise of his functions of commandant-general, was the apostle and defender of the liberty and equality of religious worship. He openly protected that form of worship which was most unpopular, and which was practised in his own family. He in consequence received the thanks of the non-juring priests and of several convents of nuns, where prayers were offered up for Lafayette. He spoke in behalf of the rights of men of colour. "The national assembly," said he, "convokes colonists to deliberate on their interests; is it not evident that free men, who are landed proprietors, cultivators and tax-payers in a colony, are colonists? Now the individuals to whom I refer, are tax-payers, cultivators, landed proprietors and free men; are they not also men? I think so, &c."

Lafayette declined accepting either recom-

pense or salary from the Commune of Paris, at the same time declaring, that he attached no more importance to the refusal than to the acceptance. The public were informed, for the first time, by the Memoirs of Bouillé, that he refused the marshal's baton the constable's sword and even the office of lieutenant-general of the kingdom: offers which were more than once renewed. So in the popular meetings of the Hotel-de-Ville and particularly on the occasion of a special motion of the Abbé Fauchet he rejected propositions of dictatorship and to be created commander-in-chief of the armed citizens. He went still farther:—at the time of the great federation of 1790, when he learned that all the deputations were arriving with the design of conferring upon him that supreme command, he immediately made a motion for obtaining a decree prohibiting any individual from being invested with the command of the national guards of more than one department or even one district. One day, when on his return from a review, he was conducted back to the assembly amidst the enthusiastic acclamations of an immense multitude, he seized that opportunity of declaring in the tribune his formal de-

termination to return to the class of private citizens, as soon as the constitution should be settled.

In the famous sitting in which the abolition of titles ofnobility was proclaimed, Lafayette warmly supported that measure. He even opposed any exceptions in favour of the princes of the blood, and he insisted that the constitutional principle of equality among citizens should be immediately established.

On the 14th of July, 1790, Lafayette being major-general of the federation, of which the King was chief, took on the altar of the country, the civic oath in the name of four millions of national guards, represented by fourteen thousand deputies. The popularity which he then enjoyed, excited particularly on that solemn occasion, a feeling of enthusiasm, which induced him in an address to the federates, to make the following remarks: "Let not ambition take possession of you; love the friends of the people; but reserve blind submission for the law, and enthusiasm for liberty. Pardon this advice, gentlemen: you have given me the glorious right to offer it when, by loading me with every species of favour which one of your brothers could receive from you, my heart, amidst its delightful emo-

tion, cannot repress a feeling of fear." — On taking leave of him, the deputations spoke as follows :—" The deputies of the national guards of France retire, with the regret of not being able to nominate you their chief. They respect the constitutional law though it checks at this moment, the impulse of their hearts; a circumstance which must cover you with immortal glory, is, that you yourself promoted that law, that you yourself prescribed bounds to our gratitude."

On the 28th of February 1791, after having quelled a riot excited at Vincennes for the purpose of drawing him out of Paris, closing the gates against him and even attempting his life, Lafayette returned to the Tuileries, where there had been mustered in the apartments and inner passages, an assemblage of armed men, who received the name of *chevaliers du poignard.* The murmurs of the national guards, on duty, had sufficed to break up this strange assemblage, of which the king himself blamed the imprudence and felt the danger. The appearance of Lafayette contradicted the report of his death, which had already been circulated. He required that the arms which had been deposited, and among which

there really were poignards, should be given to the national guards, and an order of the day announced that the *chefs de la domesticité*, which was the phrase made use of, had been enjoined not to permit any more such enterprises. Thus Lafayette had continually to defend liberty and public order against the plots and efforts of the various factions, which subsequently, and when regular institutions were at length established, made so violent and fatal an explosion.

On the 11th of April of the same year, a commotion, which had evidently been prepared in secret, impeded the usual journey of the king to Saint-Cloud. Lafayette was now for the first and only time, dissatisfied with the national guard on duty. He was also displeased with the civil authorities and the court; and he tendered his resignation. The commune in a body and all the battalions assembled, waited upon him, and conjured him, to resume the command.

The escape of the king, against which every precaution had been taken, compatible with the liberty enjoyed by the supreme chief of the state, was to Lafayette an event very unexpected, as the positive promise and the apparent sin-

cerity of the monarch had recently warranted him in contradicting the suspicions which had arisen, and publicly staking his life that the King would not depart.* "Consequently," says a historian, "the fury of the people against Lafayette was extreme. It was somewhat appeased when they beheld the composure with which he advanced, unattended by any escort, amidst the yells of a prodigious crowd which had assembled before the Hotel-de-Ville. Some lamentations for the recent public calamity, which seemed to challenge Lafayette, furnished him with an opportunity of telling those who complained that, *if they called that event a misfortune, he wished to know what name they would give to a counter-revolution which would deprive them of liberty.*"

The same eye-witness† adds that in that, multitude, several voices were raised to offer him the vacant place; a proposition which he rejected with a contemptuous sarcasm. This restored him to all his previous popularity.

On learning the fatal departure of the King, the well foreseen signal of civil and foreign war, La-

* Toulongeon's History of France. See the *Pièces Justificatives.*

† Bureaux-Puzy.

fayette, without waiting for the meeting of the assembly, and after having consulted its president and the mayor, took upon himself alone the responsibility of signing and dispatching in every direction, orders for stopping what was termed the removal of the King. Fortunately for him, considering the atrocious crimes which were afterwards committed, it was not in consequence of his orders, which were necessarily tardy, but the misfortune of being recognized by a post master, which occasioned the arrest at Varennes. The royal family on receiving from Lafayette's aide-de-camp, the decree of the assembly, appeared surprised that he was still commanding in Paris; and indeed, observes Bouillé in his memoirs, the flight of the King might have caused him to be massacreed by the people. It is remarkable that the notorious Danton, who had previously received 100,000 francs from the court, was the only one who, the same evening, at the jacobin club, demanded the head of Lafayette, though he was well aware the latter knew his secret.

When the King and his family were brought back to Paris, where hitherto they had not been prisoners, but merely kept under supervision, a decree of the assembly consigned them under the

orders of the commandant-general, to guards *personally responsible*, and the more distrustful inasmuch as they had just been deceived. Lafayette manifested redoubled zeal to guarantee the safety of the royal family, but sovereign honors were not restored to the monarch until he had again acknowledged and accepted his title of constitutional king. Meanwhile Bouillé, having, in his letter from Luxembourg, alleged that there existed a party who wished for a republic, and that Lafayette belonged to it, the latter renewed in the assembly his declaration of fidelity to the constitution as it was established. While two opposite factions accused Lafayette of having connived at the King's flight with the view, according to some, of founding the republic, and according to others of serving the court, the general himself employed his popularity and his power only to ensure the independence of the deliberations and obedience to the decrees of the assembly.

The decree of the 16th of July 1791, proved that there was almost a unanimous determination to restore the King. The discontented assembled in the Champ-de-Mars, on the morning of the 17th to sign a protest against this measure.

They commenced by assassinating two invalids and carrying their heads on pikes. Lafayette promptly hurried to the spot, and ordered the barriers, already raised, to be pulled down A man discharged a musket at him, which fortunately missed fire. This assassin, whom Lafayette released, afterwards made a boast of his crime at the bar of the convention. In consequence of a promise having been given that the crowds would disperse, the municipal officers waited till evening, but as the agitation continued to augment, as hostile projects were announced to the assembly, and as that body had directed the municipality to take measures for restoring public safety, the latter unfurled the flag of martial law, and paraded it through the streets, headed by the mayor and escorted by a detachment under the command of Lafayette. The municipality were assailed with stones, and in self-defence found it necessary to fire a few shots. The national guard also fired, but in the air. This encouraged the boldness of the rioters, and the guard then fired upon them. According to the report of Bailly about a dozen persons were killed and as many wounded; it has been alleged that the numbers were more considera-

ble, but very exaggerated statements were circulated at the time. Be this as it may, a few minutes sufficed for the dispersion of the crowd, which however re-assembled with greater success on the 10th of August and 31st of May. The municipality and the national guard, who on that unfortunate day also lost several men, received the unanimous thanks of the assembly. There would have been more bloodshed, but for the courage and presence of mind of Lafayette, who at the moment when the match was about to be applied to a cannon, placed himself before its mouth, and the terrified gunner had barely time to withdraw his arm.

During the last discussions on the constitutional act, Lafayette opposed the project which prohibited the nation for thirty years from the privilege of modifying the constitution. When the question was settled, he procured a decree for the immediate abolition of law proceedings relative to the revolution, the use of passports, and all restriction on the liberty of travelling in the interior and out of France.

On the 8th of October he took leave of the national guard in an affectionate letter, in which he retraced his principles of liberty and public order.

The following is a literal copy of this remarkable document.

" Gentlemen,

" At the moment when the National Constituent Assembly has resigned its powers, when the functions of its members have ceased, I also close the engagements I contracted, when placed by the voice of the people at the head of those citizens who first undertook to conquer and maintain their liberties; I promised the capital, which first gave the happy signal for freedom, to keep unfurled the sacred standard of the revolution, which public confidence consigned to my protection.

" The constitution, gentlemen, is now settled by those who had the right of superintending its arrangement; and after having been sworn to by all the citizens, by all the sections of the empire, it has been legally adopted by the people at large, and solemnly recognised by the first legislative assembly of its representatives, as it had previously, with equal reflection and good faith, been acknowledged and adopted by the hereditary representative entrusted with the execution of the laws. The days of the revolution now give place to the pe-

riod of regular organization, liberty and prosperity which that revolution guarantees. Thus, when every thing concurs for the pacification of internal troubles, the threats of the enemies of France must, in the face of the public happiness, appear even to themselves insensate. For whatever plots may be formed against the rights of the people, no free mind can harbour the base thought of compromising any of those rights, and liberty and equality, once established in the two hemispheres, will never retrograde.

"To serve you until this day, gentlemen, was a duty imposed upon me by the sentiments which have animated my whole life; it was but the return of fidelity to which your confidence was entitled. To resign now, without reserve, to my country all the power and influence she gave me for the purpose of defending her during recent convulsions—this is a duty I owe to my well known resolutions, and it amply satisfies the only species of ambition I possess.

"After this explanation of my conduct and motives, I will make, gentlemen, a few reflections on the new situation in which we are placed by the constitutional order about to commence. Liberty arose surrounded by the en-

signs of peace, when her enemies, provoking the defenders of the people, rendered necessary the creation of the national guards, their spontaneous organization, their universal union, in short that development of civil power, which restored the use of arms to its real destination, and which verified the remark I feel pleasure in repeating, viz: *that for a nation to be free it is sufficient that she resolves to be so.* But it is time to give other examples, and those which will be still more imposing, have an irresistible force which is exercised for the maintainance of the laws.

" I feel pleasure in calling to mind, gentlemen, how amidst so many hostile plots, ambitious intrigues, and licentious extravagancies you faced every adverse circumstance with undaunted firmness: to the fury of parties you opposed the pure love of your country; in short, amidst the storms of seven and twenty revolutionary months you have calculated dangers only to multiply your vigilance, and measured their importance only inasmuch as they might compromise or serve liberty. Doubtless we have too many disorders to deplore, and you know the painful impressions they have always produced on me;—

doubtless we ourselves have errors to repair;—but when we look back on the great events of the revolution, and observe the unremitting devotedness and boundless sacrifices of a portion of the citizens to secure the liberty, safety, and peace of all; when we reflect on that provisional state which had just terminated, and in which confidence necessarily supplied the place of law; who is there, among those who provoked you and whom you protected, who can blame the hommage now rendered to you by a sincere friend and a grateful general.

"But you must not believe, gentlemen, that every species of despotism is destroyed, and that liberty, because it is constituted and cherished among us, is already perfectly established. This cannot be while every thing, not prohibited by the law, is not freely permitted; while the movement of persons and the circulation of food and money are impeded by any obstacles; while those who are cited to trial shall be protected against the law; while the people neglecting their most important duties and their most sacred debt, are neither eager to concur in the elections, nor prompt to pay public con-

tributions; while arbitrary opposition, the fruit of disorder or distrust, shall paralize the action of the lawful authorities; while political opinions or personal sentiments, and above all, the sacred use of the liberty of the press, shall ever serve as a pretext for violence; while religious intolerance, screening itself under the cloak of pretended patriotism, shall presume to admit the idea of a ruling or a proscribed form of worship; while the abode of every citizen is not to its owner an asylum more inviolable than the most impregnable fortress; while every citizen does not conceive himself bound to defend his civil and political liberties, and to maintain the rigid execution of the law; finally, while there is not, in the voice of the magistrate who speaks in the name of the law, a power for its defence, superior to that of a million of swords.

"May all the blessings of liberty, by consolidating, more and more, the happiness of our country, duly reward the zeal of the national guards of the empire, who were all armed in the same cause, and united by the same sentiments: and may I be allowed here to express to them a gratitude and devotedness as bound-

less as were the testimonials of confidence and friendship with which they have honoured me during this revolution.

"Gentlemen, I now cease to command you; and at the painful moment of our separation, my heart acknowledges more warmly than ever, the vast obligations by which I am attached to you. Accept the wishes of a devoted friend, for the public prosperity, for the private happiness of each of you, may your recollection of him be frequently present in your thoughts, associated with the oath by which we are all bound *to live free or to die.*

"LAFAYETTE."

The same day he delivered a farewell address to the Commune, and quitted the capital in which he had constantly enjoyed popularity, the more pure and the more remarkable, inasmuch, as it had been incessantly employed to repress factious intrigues, and the excesses of fury and licentiousness, which were afterwards so terribly and fatally manifested. He retired to the place of his nativity, about one hundred and twenty leagues from Paris. As he proceeded on his journey, he was overwhelmed with honors and

marks of affection. The national guards of Paris presented to him the statue of Washington, and a sword forged from the bolts of the Bastille. Several citizens made an attempt to recall Lafayette, by getting him elected mayor instead of Péthion, who was supported by the jacobins. The court employed its influence in favour of Péthion, and as the friends of the general knew he was not ambitious of the dignity, the favorite candidate of the jacobins and the court found his success easy.

Meanwhile the emigration became general;—multitudes were arming themselves abroad; and the coalition was developed. It was deemed necessary to raise three armies of fifty thousand men. Luckner, Rochambeau, and Lafayette were the three generals chosen to command them. When, on passing through Paris, to proceed to his head-quarters, Lafayette presented himself to the legislative assembly, the president informed him that the nation confidently opposed to her enemies, *the Constitution and Lafayette.* He successfully directed his attention to the means of re-establishing discipline, and adopted more rigid regulations than those already in existence. He made negligence be regarded as a sign of

aristocracy, and attention to duty as a mark of patriotism; and finally, he introduced in the army that simplicity which subsequently secured to us so many triumphs, which was quite at variance with the luxury which had previously prevailed among the French military.

At this period, the minister Narbonne, who had the confidence of the generals and troops, lost his place; and his fall was closely followed by that of his colleagues. They were succeeded by a ministry which the jacobins and the intendant of the civil list formed with common accord. Dumouriez was at its head. It was not long before war was declared.

Among the intrigues, foreign and domestic, which were at this time carried on, one was hatched for the purpose of ruining Lafayette. On the evening of the 24th, he received orders to form an army-corps and a train of artillery which were to be at Givet, on the 30th. All was ready in four and twenty hours, and this unexpected march of fifty-six leagues was performed in five days; so that while every good citizen deplored the checks sustained at Lille and Mons, it was impossible to withhold thanks for the efforts and zeal of Lafayette. He directed on the enemy's

territory a corps which fought valiantly near Philippeville; and afterwards, in conformity with a plan which left the offensive to Marshal Luckner, he proceeded to occupy the entrenched camp at Maubeuge. Before that town a partial engagement took place, in which General Gouvion was killed. The accidents and delays which too frequently ensue with raw troops, rendered ineffectual a movement on the flank, and gave the enemy time to retreat.

According to the first plan which was concerted in the King's presence, between the minister Narbonne and the three generals, Luckner was to manœuvre on the Rhine, and Lafayette at the head of forty thousand men, was to enter the Netherlands, while the army of Rochambeau was to be in readiness to support him. However, this plan was modified by Dumouriez and the jacobins, who were at that time his friends; Rochambeau in disgust resigned his command, and Marshal Luckner, who failed in his offensive operations against the Netherlands, thought proper to retire on Valenciennes. Lafayette, who had occupied Maubeuge as a means of diversion, dispatched Bureaux-Puzy to prevail on Luckner to make a combined attack upon the Austrians, nearly

at the point where the battle of Jemmapes was fought. Lafayette answered for his troops, and entertained no doubt of their success, for he had from the very outset constantly and publicly predicted the advantage which our new institutions, and our spirit of patriotism must possess over old tactics and old armies. Luckner obstinately refused to yield to the recommendations of his colleague. This circumstance proved not a little mortifying to the enemies of Lafayette, both within and without the assembly, for by dint of repeating that he had prevented Luckner from attacking, and had proposed that he should march on Paris, Bureaux-Puzy was summoned to the bar, and they themselves rendered necessary the publication of the correspondence.

Lafayette was at the same time engaged in a more perilous war against the colossal and disorganizing power of the jacobin clubs. He was aware that the enemies of the revolution, both at home and abroad, had formed the systematic design of destroying liberty by excess and licentiousness. He saw among the jacobins sincere patriots, who were the involuntary instruments of intrigue, fury, and the counter-revolution. He determined to brave them; but he attacked them

alone, and his letter of the 16th of June, to the national assembly openly denounced that formidable association; and specifically named the jacobins. The following is an extract from this document, which forms an epoch in the history of the time.

" Gentlemen,

" The public cause is in danger. The fate of France depends chiefly on her representatives. The nation looks to them for her safety; but by giving herself a constitution, she has prescribed to them the only course by which they can save her.

" As gentlemen, the rights of man are the law of every constituent assembly, the constitution becomes the law of the legislators whom it has established: it is to you that I must denounce the too potent efforts which are making to mislead you from the course you have promised to follow.

" I will not be prevented from exercising this right of a free man, and fulfilling this duty of a citizen, either by the momentary errors of opinion, —for what are opinions which depart from principles?—or by my respect for the representatives of the people, for I respect still more the people

themselves whose constitution is the supreme law; nor by the regard you have always shewn me, for I wish to preserve that regard, as I obtained it, by an inflexible attachment to liberty.

"You are placed in difficult circumstances. France is threatened abroad, and agitated at home. While foreign courts announce the audacious project of attacking our national sovereignty, and declare themselves the enemies of France, our domestic enemies, intoxicated with fanaticism or pride, cherish chimerical hopes, and harass us by their insolent animosity.

"It is your duty, gentlemen, to put down these enemies; and you will only have power to do so inasmuch as you are constitutional and just.

"It is no doubt your wish to put them down; but cast your eyes on what is passing both in the bosom of your own assembly and around you.

"Can you conceal from yourselves that a faction, and to avoid vague denunciations, the jacobin faction, has caused all these disorders? I here openly accuse that faction. Organized like a separate power, in its source and its ramifications, blindly directed by a few ambitious leaders, that sect forms a distinct corporation

amidst the French people, whose power it usurps by subduing its representatives and agents.

"This faction in public sittings style respect for the laws aristocracy, and their infraction patriotism: they pronounce eulogies on the assassins of Versailles, panegyrize the crimes of Jourdan, and the recital of the assassination which sullied the city of Metz, drew from them infernal acclamations of approval. Can these reproaches be evaded by fastening upon an Austrian manifesto in which the jacobins are mentioned? Have they become sacred because Leopold has pronounced their names? And because it is our duty to oppose foreigners who mingle in our quarrels, are we exempt from the equally important duty of delivering our country from domestic tyranny? In comparison with this duty, what signify the projects of foreigners, their connivance with counter-revolutionists, and their influence over the lukewarm friends of liberty? It is I who denounce to you this jacobin sect; I, who without referring to my past life, may reply to those who pretend to suspect me:—'Stand forward, at this critical juncture, when the character of every individual

is about to be tried, and let us see which of us most inflexible in his principles, most firm in his resistance, will best brave those obstacles and dangers which traitors conceal from their country, but which true citizens know how to estimate and oppose.'

"And why should I longer delay to fulfil this duty, when the power of the constituted authority is daily diminishing, when party spirit is substituted for the will of the people, when the boldness of agitators impose silence on the peaceful portion of the citizens, and when sectarian devotedness takes place of those private and public virtues, which in a free country should be rigidly regarded as the only means of attaining to the first officers of the state.

"After having opposed to all obstacles and all snares, the courageous and persevering patriotism of an army perhaps sacrificed to intrigues against its general, I now come to oppose to the jacobin faction the correspondence of a ministry the worthy offspring of its club:—a correspondence in which all calculations are erroneous, the promises vain, the information false or frivolous, the advice perfidious or contradictory:—a correspondence in which, after being urged to advance

without precaution, and to attack without means, I was informed that resistance would soon become impossible; but I indignantly repelled the base assertion.

"What a remarkable similarity is observable, gentlemen, between the language of the factious party favored by the aristocracy, and those who usurp the title of patriots! All have in view to overthrow our laws, all rejoice at our disorders, oppose the authorities delegated by the people, detest the national guard, preach insubordination to the army, and scatter alternately the seeds of discontent and discouragement.

"As to me, gentlemen, who espoused the cause of America at the moment when her ambassadors declared her lost:—who, from that time have devoted myself to a persevering defence of popular liberty and sovereignty; who, on the 11th of July 1789, on presenting to my country a declaration of rights, ventured to say, that, 'for a nation to be free, it is sufficient that she wills it;' as I now come, full of confidence in the justice of our cause, contempt for the cowards who desert it, and indignation for the traitors who would sully it, to declare that the French nation, if she be not the vilest in the universe, may, and

ought to resist the conspiracy of the Kings who are coalesced against her. It is not certainly in my brave troops that any timid sentiments are expressed; they are distinguished for patriotism, energy, discipline, patience, mutual confidence, in short, for every virtue civil and military.

"Among them the principles of liberty and equality are cherished, the laws respected, property held sacred, and calumnies and factions unknown. When I reflect that France has several millions of men capable of becoming such soldiers, I cannot help exclaiming:—How degraded must be this vast nation, even more powerful by her natural resources than the defences of art, and opposing a monstrous confederation to the advantage of extraordinary combinations, when the base idea of sacrificing her sovereignty, compromising her liberty, and bargaining for her declaration of rights, could enter the catalogue of future possibilities! But that we soldiers of liberty should fight or die with any advantage to our country, it is requisite that the number of her defenders should be promptly apportioned to that of her adversaries, that supplies should be multiplied, and our movements facilitated, that the comforts of the troops, their equipment, pay, and

medical treatment should not be subject to fatal delays or to a false economy, which operates in a manner diametrically opposite to its supposed object.

" It is necessary above all, that the citizens, who have rallied round the constitution, should be assured that the rights it guarantees will be respected with such a scrupulous fidelity as will reduce to despair its enemies hidden or avowed. This is the wish of every sincere friend of your legitimate authority. Being assured that no unjust consequence can flow from a pure source, that no tyrannical measure can serve a cause which owes its power and its glory to the sacred bases of liberty and equality, you will make criminal justice resume its constitutional course, and let civil liberty and religious equality enjoy the full application of just principles.

" The royal power must remain uncurtailed, for it is guaranteed by the constitution; it must be independent, for that independence is one of the springs of our liberty; the King must be respected, for he is invested with the national majesty:— may he make choice of ministers who do not wear the chains of any faction, and if conspirators exist, let them perish by the sword of justice.

"Finally, let the reign of the clubs, annihilated by you, be superseded by the reign of the law; their usurpations by the firm and independent operation of the constituted authorities;—their disorganizing maxims by the true principles of liberty;—their unbridled fury by the calm and steady courage of a nation who knows her rights and can defend them;—in short, their party schemes by the real interests of their country, which, in this moment of danger, should rally and unite together, all those men to whom her degradation and ruin are not objects of atrocious pleasure or infamous speculation.

"Such, gentlemen, are the representations and prayers submitted to the national assembly, as they have already been submitted to the King by a citizen, whose sincere love of liberty none will dispute;—who would be less hated by the different factions, if he had not raised himself above them by his disinterestedness; in whom silence would have been more convenient, had he, like many others, shewn himself indifferent to the glory of the national assembly, and the confidence with which it ought to be surrounded:—of, on his own part, confidence he cannot give a better proof than by exhibiting the truth without disguise.

"Gentlemen, I have obeyed the dictates of my conscience, and fulfilled my oaths. It was a duty I owed to my country, to you, to the King, and to myself; for the chances of war will not permit me to delay any observations I conceive to be useful, and I cherish the hope that the national assembly will regard this as a fresh homage of my fidelity to its constitutional authority, and also of my personal gratitude and respect.

"Signed, LAFAYETTE."

This letter, which was approved by the majority of the assembly, was bitterly attacked by the jacobin deputies. The clubs vied with each other in denouncing Lafayette. The Paris club chose for its organ the too famous Collot d'Herbois.

Intrigues now multiplied. The title of republicans was given to the factious spirits of that period, as it was subsequently given to the men of terror; but there was no idea of a republic at the Champ-de-Mars; of this the declarations of Madame Roland and Brissot afford sufficient evidence. The names of the Duke of Brunswick and the Duke of York were pronounced in the clubs, and the subsequent conduct of most of these self-

styled republicans of the time of anarchy and violence is well known,

Meanwhile seventy-five departmental administrations, composed of men really chosen by the people, tendered their formal adherence to Lafayette's letter, and the national assembly daily received fresh notifications of adherence, which were interrupted by the catastrophe of the 10th August, and the crimes of September.

The command of the frontier, was, after the resignation of Rochambeau, divided between Luckner and Lafayette. The Marshal's portion extended from the Rhine to Longwy; and Lafayette's from Dunkirk to Montmedy. The two generals easily foresaw that the principal attack would be made near the junction point of their respective commands. They had a host of adverse circumstances to contend with, viz: the disguised movements of the Austrian forces; the outcries of the jacobins; the denunciations of the journals; the representations of the ministers, who were ruled by the clubs, and the disobedience of Dumouriez, who first quarreled with his old colleagues, and then, after the most serious charges on both sides, was reconciled to them. How-

ever, in spite of all these obstacles, Luckner and Lafayette, directed towards the threatened points, the two corps ready to support each other, and to oppose the Duke of Brunswick. But while their military plans, that among others which they formed in Flanders, were thwarted by orders from Paris, internal intrigues retarded the supplies of troops, which had been ordered conformably with the law. It proved fortunate, that at a subsequent period a portion of these new levies arrived, at the right moment, on the plains of Champagne, at that time, a position skilfully chosen and boldly maintained by Dumouriez, (the successor of Lafayette); the battle of Valmy, gained by Kellerman, and the cannon of Duboville, French patriotism and courage, the imprudent confidence of the allies, and the concurrence of the elements, justified the predictions of the proscribed general; and perhaps, in that retreat it was fortunate for the allies, that they had to do, as the Marquis de Lucchesini expressed it, with *a general who knew how to negociate.*

Lafayette had been denounced to the national assembly, by the members who then

constituted the organs, and considered themselves the leaders of the jacobins.

They gave him the name of the second Cromwell; not however, in the honorable sense intended by Mirabeau, who, wearied with his scruples, called him *Cromwell-Grandison.* And by whom was this reproach of vulgar ambition, addressed? by the men whose offers of dictatorship, and general command he had rejected. He was represented as an aristocrat, by those very jacobins who, in their ministerial instruction, had recommended him, not to yield too much in Belgium, to his democratic sentiments, and also by others, who were afterwards soon covered with titles, orders, and cordons. On the other hand, the court paid for libels, in which the general was denounced as a royalist, and accused of making his army a seditious rampart, for himself.

The infatuation by which the court, through jealous distrust, and secret calumny detached from itself men, and above all, the man who, more than any other, then possessed the power and the will to protect it by constitutional means, is one of the most curious traits in the history of the period.

On the 28th of June, Lafayette presented himself alone at the bar of the national assembly to demand justice for the violence committed on the 20th at the Tuileries. The citizens who applauded him, would have defended him personally; but they did not support him with that civic energy, which the critical occasion demanded. Next day the King was to have reviewed the national guards; but a counter order was issued during the night. The court party frustrated the project of Lafayette, and the King positively rejected his offer to defend him against the threatened dangers. Lafayette proposed to conduct him, in open day, to Compiegne, a distance to which he might proceed without violating the constitution. There he would have found a detachment of trustworthy troops, as well as the local national guard, and by a proclamation, made in full liberty, he might have recovered the public confidence. "He would have save the King," said the royalists, "but not royalty;" for to the court party, constitutional royalty was nothing. The Queen replied, that "it would be too much to owe their lives once more to M. de Lafayette." The Memoirs of M. Huet, first valet-de-cham-

bre to Louis XVIII, printed in 1814, shew that the refusal which was merely attributed to internal counsel, and the Queen's dislike of the patriots, was more especially due " to a letter from the Duke of Brunswick, sent from his head-quarters at Coblentz." This letter conjured the King to stay in Paris " until the troops of the coalition and the emigrants should come to meet him there." Lafayette repulsed in all his endeavors to save the lives of the King and his family, had no alternative, but to pursue his route towards the frontiers.

On the 8th of August, the national assembly deliberated on the charge brought against Lafayette. After some warm debating, it was determined by a majority of 407, to 224 votes, that there was no ground of accusation. On the following day, the 9th a great number of Deputies, who had voted for him, had to complain of violent outrages committed upon them. A large majority of the assembly rose and exclaimed: " We all declare that we are not free."

The events of the 10th of August are known. Lafayette thought it his duty to resist. He was firmly supported by the municipality of Sedan and the department of the Ardennes. He re-

ceived flattering letters from the new ministry. The worthy magistrates of Sedan, who were afterwards immolated on the scaffold of terrorism, proposed to him to accede to a revolution, which, by getting rid of the king, would have placed him at the head of a new order of things. He refused to recognize the violation of laws to which obedience had been solemnly sworn. The inflexible courage with which he persisted to the last moment in an opposition becoming more and more hopeless is well known. Of the seventy-five departments which adhered to his letter of the 16th of June, there remained with him only the Ardennes. Dietrich and his friends failed in their resistance at Strasburgh. The troops, the generals, and the commanders of the divisions, after having nearly all declared in his favor, yielded and gave way on all sides. Every means were employed to deprive him of the support of the corps which remained with him at Sedan; and after the 19th of August no resource was left to him, but a disgraceful retraction, a death without glory and utility, or the chance of an asylum in a foreign country.

In Jefferson's Memoirs, lately published, there is a curious letter written to Lafayette in 1815.

That illustrious chief of republican democracy reminded his friend that at the period of the tennis court oath, he advised an accommodation with the King, until the French nation should be further advanced in its political education. "You thought otherwise, and that the dose might still be larger, and I found you were right; for subsequent events proved they were equal to the constitution of 1791. Unfortunately, some of the most honest and enlightened of our patriotic friends (but closet politicians merely, unpractised in the knowledge of man,) thought more could still be obtained and borne. They did not weigh the hasards of a transition from one form of government to another, the value of what they had already rescued from those hazards, and might hold in security if they pleased, nor the imprudence of giving up the certainty of such a degree of liberty, under a limited monarch, for the uncertainty of a little more under the form of a republic. You differed from them; you were for stopping there, and for securing the constitution which the national assembly had obtained. Here, too, you were right; and from this fatal error of the republicans, from their separating from yourself, and

the constitutionalists in their councils, flowed all the subsequent sufferings and crimes of the French nation. The hazards of a second change fell upon them by the way. The foreigner gained time to anarchise by gold the government he could not overthrow by arms, to crush in their own councils the genuine republicans, by the fraternal embraces of exaggerated and hireling pretenders, and to turn the machine of jacobinism from the change to the destruction of order, and in the end the limited monarchy they had secured was exchanged for the unprincipled and bloody tyranny of Robespierre, and the equally unprincipled and maniac tyranny of Bonaparte." The conduct of Lafayette in wishing in 1789 to go the length of the constitution of 1791, and to stop there in 1792, presents a striking conformity with his program of the Hotel-de-Ville: *A popular throne surrounded by republican institutions.*

Writing from the prison of Magdeburgh to the Chevalier d'Archenholz, in a letter which remained long secret, he says: "My position is hereby singular. I have sacrificed republican inclinations to circumstances and the will of the nation. I served the sovereignty of the people

under the constitution which emanated from them. My popularity was great. The legislative body defended me better on the 8th of August, than it defended itself on the 10th. But I had displeased the jacobins by blaming their aristocratic usurpation of legitimate powers; the priests of all sorts, by claiming religious liberty, the anarchists, by repressing them, and the conspirators, by rejecting their offers. You see what enemies are united with those which foreign powers, the anti-revolutionists and even the court hire against me. You recollect the premeditated aggression of the 10th of August, the forces required in the name of the law and slaughtered in the name of the people; the citizens of every age and sex massacreed in the streets and thrown into prison to be there assassinated in cold blood. You recollect the King only saving his life by an illegal suspension; the national guard disarmed, and the oldest friends of liberty and equality, a La Rochefoucauld even, marked out for the murderers; the constitutional act rendered a signal for prosecution; the press enchained, and opinions punished with death; juries replaced by cut-throats, and the ministry of justice given to their chief; the administra-

tive and municipal bodies of Paris dissolved; the national assembly compelled to sanction these iniquities; in a word, natural, civil, religious, and political liberty strangled in blood. What was to be thought, what was to be done, by the man who had always been the ardent friend of liberty, who was the first in Europe to proclaim the declaration of rights; who, on the altar of the federation, had pronounced in the name of the French people the civic oath; and who regarded the constitution, notwithstanding its faults, as the best rallying point against the enemies of freedom. Though the national sovereignty was violated in the representatives, as well as in the delegations of power, I did not wish that the armed force should cease to be obedient, and it was from civil authorities, which could conveniently be applied to from the camp, that I requested orders. Doubtless I earnestly wished that a general call of the national voice should re-establish public liberty; that of constituted powers. The independence of elections and deliberations being assured, if the nation had wished to revise the constitutional act, would I—I who have always been the first and most obstinate defender of conventions complained? Assuredly

I was too averse from associating myself with the crimes which had been committed and those which I foresaw, not to encourage that resistance to oppression which I regarded as a duty; but I will venture to say that my conduct, difficult as my situation was, will stand the severest examination.

"Ah! Sir, I am sensible of what I owe you, for your consideration of the inexpressible grief, which my heart, ardent in the cause of humanity, thirsting for glory, loving my country, my family and friends, must have endured, when after the labours of sixteen years, I was obliged to deprive myself of the happiness of combating for the principles and sentiments for which alone I have lived? But what more could I do? You know that, at the 10th of August, I was the last and almost the only individual who resisted. If intrigue misled many citizens, terror chilled almost all. I was dismissed, accused, that is to say, prosecuted. My defence might have been sanguinary, but it would have been useless. It would only have served myself, not my country, and the enemy would have taken care to profit by it. I might have attacked, and been killed, but seeing no military advantage in that, I desisted. I would

have gone to meet death in Paris, but I feared that such an example of popular ingratitude might discourage other friends of liberty hereafter. I departed then, and there was the more reason for secrecy that a great number of officers and even several corps might, at such a moment, have been induced to follow me. After having provided for the security of the places and troops under my command, after having by a delicacy for which we paid dear, dismissed my escort and even my orderlies, on the frontier, I proceeded with anguish in my heart, accompanied by Maubourg* whose friendship with me is as old as our existence, M. de Puzy, and a few other friends, most of whom had been my aides-de-camp since the formation of the national guard. M. Alexander Lameth joined us in our route. We intended to go to Holland and England, then neutral countries, and we had reached Liege, when we fell in with an Austrian corps which delivered us up to the coalition. We were made prisoners, and the four members of the constituent assembly were successively transferred to Luxemburgh, Wezel and Magdeburgh.

* The general and peer Latour-Maubourg, lately deceased.

" It is unknown what sufferings have been inflicted upon us by this coalition; but what are those sufferings to the pains a heart devoted to liberty feels from the injustice of the people! In that injustice the threefold tyranny of despotism, aristocracy and superstition finds itself avenged; but the monster has received a mortal wound. Here all the contrivances of the inquisition and barbarism are multiplied around us; but these cruelties do us honor, and whether our heads are reserved to adorn a triumph, or whether it be preferred to make the insalubrity of dungeons, the privation of air and exercise and every kind of moral torture, have the effect of slow poison, I hope that the compassion, the discussion, the indignation which our fate will excite, will prove so many germs of liberty, by raising up for it new defenders. To encourage such, in the sincerity of my heart, I here bequeath to you this consoling truth, that the pleasure of a signal service rendered to humanity, more than compensates for all the torments which the united efforts of its enemies and even the ingratitude of the people may cause.

" But what will become of the French revolution? Whatever may be the force which the in-

stitution of the national guards gives to France; whatever the extent of the advantages prepared by Generals Rochambeau, Luckner and myself, and energetically followed up by our successors; can reliance be placed on immorality, tyranny and disorganisation?—On men whose venality has disgusted all parties, whose baseness has always prompted them to kiss the hand which gives or strikes, whose pretended patriotism was never any thing but egotism or envy—on avowed corruptors of public morality, the authors of protests and projects against the revolution, associated with the sanguinary wretches who have already so often stained it! what chiefs for a nation that would be free! can its legislators give it a constitution, or legal order! can its generals prove incorruptible! however if, after the convulsion of anarchy, there still should exist one spot where liberty maintains the combat, how I should then curse my chains! I refused to live with my countrymen, but not to die for them! Besides, can it be possible to escape from so many barriers of guards and chains?—Why not?—Already a tooth-pick, some soot, a bit of paper have served to deceive my gaolers, and at the risk of my life this letter will be conveyed to you.

It is true that, to the danger of escape must be added the difficulty of the journey and the asylum. From Constantinople to Lisbon, from Kamtschatka to Amsterdam (for I am on bad terms with the House of Orange) bastiles every where await me. The Huron and Iroquois forests are peopled by my friends; with me, the despots of Europe and their courts are the savages. Though I am no favorite at St. James's, I should find in England a nation and laws, but I would wish to avoid a country at war with my own. America, the country of my heart, would rejoice to see me again, but my solicitude on the destiny of France would make me, for a time, prefer Switzerland. However, enough on this idea. Instead of a line of thanks I have written a letter and must beg of you to receive with my adieux, the expression of my gratitude and my attachment.

"LAFAYETTE."

If Lafayette had not been recognised, the officers who accompanied him would probably have been allowed to pass. When arrested they made an official declaration of their patriotic principles, because, as they stated, they did not wish to be confounded with the emigrants who

were armed against their country. The eighteen officers who followed their general were sent to Antwerp and released in the course of a month; but the four members of the constituent assembly, were first conveyed to Namur and Nivelles. At Namur the commandant of the place, the Marquis of Chastefer told Lafayette, that Prince Charles had been instructed by their Royal Highnesses to converse with him on the affairs of France, and he was given to understand that, as he had complaints to make against his country, they expected to obtain some information from him. "I know not," replied Lafayette, "whether such a commission has been given, but I do not believe that any person will dare to execute it on me." In the evening the Marquis de Chasteler, taking Lafayette aside, shewed the draught of a letter which was to be, as he said, written to their Royal Highnesses the Governess of the Netherlands and the Duke of Saxe. In this letter the opinions of Lafayette were spoken of in a very incorrect manner, and in particular, he was represented as regretting the abolition of the nobility. "I am obliged to you on account of your motives," said Lafayette, "but I declare to you that if you thus travesty my principles and sen-

timents I shall be under the necessity of decidedly disavowing the assertions which your kindness has dictated." At Nivelles a commission came from Brussels to make an inventory of whatever was supposed to belong to the King of France. "I see," said Lafayette, that if the Duke of Saxe Teschen had been in my place he would have stolen the army chest." To his application for a passport, the Duke of Saxe Teschen replied, that one was reserved for his journey to the scaffold. Count Clairfayt was on the spot trying to take advantage of the disorganisation which he hoped would follow Lafayette's departure; but, thanks to the precautions which the latter had taken, he found the army secure against any attempt, and the commissioners themselves acknowledged, that this service had been performed. From Nivelles, the four deputies were transferred to Luxemburgh. An attempt was there made by a troop of furious emigrants to assassinate Lafayette; it was preceded by the publication of one of Rivarol's pamphlets to which he had given this motto:

Et dubitamus adhuc mercedem extendere factis.

The Austrian commandant took measures to prevent the repetition of such an atrocity. In the mean time, the jacobin clubs resounded with vociferations against Lafayette. He was charged, which was true, with wishing to conclude with the Duke of Saxe Teschen, a cartel by which the emigrants would have been regarded as prisoners of war; thus putting them on the same footing on which the American tories, who joined the English, stood in the war of the American revolution. This stipulation was never after proposed by any French general, nor did any of the enemy's generals, or any foreign cabinet ever think fit to require it.

M. de Segur in his History of Frederick William, gives the following account of the usage which Lafayette experienced :

" The four constituents were conveyed to Wessel and imprisoned. They were watched by inferior officers, whose orders were to keep them constantly in sight and to give no answer to their questions.

" Lafayette having fallen dangerously ill, his friend Maubourg could not obtain permission to see him, though he appeared at the point of death. A salutary crisis rescued him at the gates of death.—The King of Prussia, wishing to

take advantage of his bodily debility, suggested that his situation should be ameliorated in return for his giving plans against France; but by an energetic reply he proved his contempt for such a proposition.* He was then treated with encreased rigor. Soon after they were placed in a cart and removed to Magdeburgh, all information being refused respecting the existence of their families, on whose account they felt great anxiety in consequence of the proscriptions which then took place in France.†

* This circumstance was thus adverted to by Fox in one of his speeches—"With the same diabolical perversity which afterwards suggested to the Austrian ministers, the laying of snares for the courageous affection of the wife, endeavours were made to seduce the patriotism of the husband. Base men had dared to hope that the brave Lafayette would be disposed to renounce his brilliant and justly acquired reputation; that he would stain the laurels with which he was covered, and sacrifice a noble character which will flourish in the annals of the world and live in the veneration of posterity, when kings and the crowns they wear shall be no more regarded than the dust to which they must return. But Lafayette, while he condemned the measures which had exiled him, was too magnanimous to favor the designs of those who were leagued against his country. The idea of such perfidy could not approach that heart which never, for a moment, ceased to glow with a sacred fire of the purest and most religious patriotism."

† The American ministers at London and the Hague at last

"They were detained during one year at Magdeburgh in a dark damp dungeon, surrounded by high palissades and closed by four successive gates, fastened by iron bolts and chains. Their fate appeared to them, however, less severe, as they were sometimes allowed to see each other, and to have a walk for an hour each day on one of the bastions.

"An order was suddenly issued by the King of Prussia for removing Lafayette to Neiss; Latour Maubourg begged in vain to be sent there with his friend, but they conveyed him to Gratz, to which place Bureaux de Puzy was soon after transferred. It was not until the period of their delivery to Austria, that the three were brought together again at Neiss.

"Alexander Lameth, being dangerously ill, could not be removed with his companions in misfortune. After earnest solicitations by his mother, whose virtues had obtained for her a merited consideration, Frederick William consented that her son should remain a prisoner in

obtained for them the favor of receiving open letters in the Prussian prison, and permission to reply to them under the eyes of the commandant. It was not the same at Olmutz, where it was only by the arrival of his wife that Lafayette learned she was yet living.

his states; and some time after, when peace was concluded between that monarch and the French Republic, he was set at liberty.

"The King of Prussia was however by no means willing that the peace which he found it necessary to conclude with France, should oblige him to release his other victims. He therefore gave them up to Austria, and they were carried to Olmutz.

"On transferring them to their separate cells, it was declared to each *that they would never for the future see more than these four surrounding walls; that they would receive no information about things or persons; that their gaolers were prohibited from pronouncing their names, and that, in the government despatches, they would be referred to merely by their numbers; that they never would have the satisfaction of knowing the situation of their families, or their reciprocal existence: and that as such a situation naturally incited to suicide, knives, forks, and every means of destruction were to be withheld from them.*

"After certificates by three physicians of the necessity of allowing Lafayette to breathe an air a little more pure than that of his dungeon, after the thrice repeated reply that Lafayette was not

yet so very ill, he was allowed to take an occasional walk, during which, without any express condition being attached to the favor, he was most rigorously watched. It is quite false that Lafayette enjoyed this liberty as has been represented, under his parole of honor, not to attempt to escape.

" The enterprise of Doctor Bollman and the young Huger, the son of Major Huger, of South Carolina, where Lafayette landed when he first visited America is well known.

" Bollman, who, after several months of fruitless attempts, succeeded in getting a note secretly conveyed to the prisoner, executed a most daring project. He went to Vienna to meet Huger and returned with him to the spot where he expected Lafayette to be brought out to take the air. Having contrived to get some of the keepers out of the way, they proceed to assist in the escape of Lafayette who was engaged with the remaining gaoler. In the struggle Lafayette sustained a severe strain in the loins, and the corporal of the gaolers with whom he contended and whom he disarmed tore the flesh of his hand to the bone.

" These generous defenders succeeded in

putting him on horseback, and so completely overlooked their own security, that they could with difficulty find the horses by which they were to escape themselves. In consequence of this loss of time and the cries of the keepers, a number of persons and troops repaired to the spot. Huger* was speedily taken, and Lafayette, who had separated from Bolman, was arrested within eight leagues of Olmutz, with little difficulty as he was entirely without arms.

" While Lafayette was tortured in the prisons of Olmutz, his wife, uncertain of his existence and condemned to a state of indescribable suffering, was imprisoned at Paris and expected every day to be conducted to the scaffold on which several of her family had perished. The fall of the tyrants saved her life, but it was long after before she recovered her liberty, and the strength necessary to put in execution her designs. She landed at Altona on the 9th of September, 1795, and proceeded to Vienna with an American passport, under the name of Mortier. She reached the Austrian capital before any one

* Huger delivered himself up with the view of facilitating the escape of the other two.

there was aware of her intention or could be prepared to oppose her applications.*

" The Prince of Rozemberg touched with her virtues, obtained an audience of the Emperor for her and her daughters, the details of which may without difficulty be faithfully reported.

" Madame Lafayette, whose principal object was to share her husband's imprisonment, soon obtained permission so to do. Finding that the Emperor so readily conceded this point; she endeavored to make him feel that it was due to justice and humanity to liberate Lafayette. The Emperor replied:—' This affair is complicated; my hands are tied with respect to it; but I grant with pleasure what is in my power, in permitting you to join M. de Lafayette. I should act as you do were I in your place. M. de Lafayette is well treated, but the presence of his wife and his children will be one consolation more,' he added. —' With us, prisoners of state are numbered and nothing more is known of what becomes of them: —I know this is by precedent.'

* She had sent young George Lafayette to America to General Washington, in whose family he found a second paternal roof.

" It must be left to conjecture what was the impression Lafayette received on the sudden appearance of his wife and children, whose existence had long been to him a subject of fear and uncertainty. It must also be conjectured what were the feelings experienced by these young girls and their mother on the view of Lafayette's debilitated condition, his feeble limbs and pale countenance. It will not be expected that their embarrassment was suspended by the order to deliver up every thing that they carried about them.

" At length the health of this unfortunate woman, deteriorated by an imprisonment of sixteen months in France, exhibited very alarming symptoms. She considered it her duty to make some attempt to preserve her life, and she wrote to the Emperor, asking permission to pass a week at Vienna, to breathe some healthful air and consult a physician. After two months' silence, a period which indicates the practice of consulting on the most trifling affairs, the commandant of the prison hitherto unknown to Madame Lafayette entered her apartment, and ordering, it is not easy to tell why, that her daughters should be put into another chamber, inti-

mated to her that she was prohibited from ever appearing at Vienna, and that she had leave to depart from the fortress, but upon the condition of never returning. He required her to write her choice and to sign it. She wrote:

"'I owed it to my family and my friends to ask the assistance necessary for my health, but they know that the condition attached to it cannot be accepted by me. I never can forget that while we were both on the point of perishing—I by the tyranny of Robespierre, my husband by the physical and moral sufferings of his captivity—I was not permitted to receive any news of him, nor he to learn that his children and I still existed. I will not expose myself to the horror of a new separation. Whatever may be the state of my health or the inconvenience of this residence to my daughters, we shall gratefully avail ourselves of his Imperial Majesty's goodness in permitting us to share my husband's captivity in all its details.

NOAILLES-LAFAYETTE.'

"After this no further application was made, and these unfortunate ladies continued to occupy their chambers, which might be called dungeons, where they breathed an air infected by the exhalations of the common sewer of the garrison

which passed under their windows. So offensive was the effluvia, that the soldiers who brought them their meals used to stop their nostrils, as soon as they approached the spot.

"The three prisoners, Maubourg, Lafayette, and Puzy, were confined for three years and five months in the same corridor without being allowed to meet, or to hear the slightest account of each other."

At the epoch of the Lyonnese insurrection two men who differed much in their opinions and situations, the publicist Archenholz, and the zealous but generous royalist Lally-Tolendal, hit upon the idea of representing to the coalesced powers that the arrival of Lafayette at Lyons, from his credit with the national guard, and by the rallying of the numerous constitutionalists of France, was alone capable of putting a stop to the massacres of terrorism.' The proposition shewed a strange misunderstanding of the counsels which guided those powers. "It is very true," observed some royalists, "that Lafayette would, as in 1792, save his and our friends, but he would turn every thing to the advantage of liberty." In fact, while Lyons, in a patriotic revolt, wished to march forward in the cause of liberty, the secret

junta desired only to convert the town into a garrison for the foreigner, and the noble and humane suggestions of Count de Lally and of the respectable Prussian Archenholz produced only new precautions against the escape of the prisoner.

In one of Lafayette's letters, which escaped the vigilance of his gaolers, we find the following opinion on the pretended republicanism of the terrorists, and the perfidious policy of the allied monarchs :—" I shall say little on public affairs. A man dead for one and twenty months, must be an ill judge of what has been passing. But surely the liberty of which Europe feels the want, which England is losing with regret, which France implores in secret prayers is equally attacked by the double-faced factions of jacobin committees and coalesced cabinets. Strange as it may be that there should be persons who respect brigands solely for calling themselves patriots, and think themselves free because some twenty republican words have been ingrafted on the most odious system of tyranny, it is not less extraordinary that it should be supposed that the national sovereignty interposed between this new usurpation and the ancient despotism would gain

any thing by successes of the allies. And suppose even that the latter were to consent to disguise aristocracy, intolerance, and arbitrary authority under some outward appearances styled constitutional, I really cannot persuade myself that the cause of humanity would ever be served by the very powers who have conspired against it."

While the kings of Europe and all the partizans of the ancient order of things indulged their inveterate hatred of freedom, the reputation, the fortune, the families, and the friends of the proscribed patriots were exposed to all the fury of the anarchist and terrorist parties which succeeded each other in France. The accusation of Fayettism was a decree of death; it was to be found in the commitments and in the condemnations. Often did good citizens, men respectable for their virtues or their talents, profess before the tribunals, and even on the scaffold, attachment to his principles and his person! "There is a company of Fayettists," said an officer at the battle of Fleurus, while passing before a battalion of the national guard. "Yes, we are," replied the captain, "and we are going to shew you how we fight." They were nearly all killed. Lafayette

was at this time the object of the greatest interest with all the friends of liberty in both hemispheres. The patriotic journals of Germany, England, and America did homage to his name. General Washington, the president of the United-States sent a minister to Berlin, and wrote personally to the Emperor of Austria. Two special motions in favour of the prisoners were made in the British parliament by General Fitzpatrick. These motions were ably and eloquently supported by the opposition, but the sophistry and influence of the minister prevailed.* These efforts would however have been insufficient against the violent and inveterate animosity of the European aris-

* "I never can believe," said Fitzpatrick, "that this country hates a man born in France, because he instituted those National Guards, who after having for two years under his orders protected property and maintained the tranquillity of the capital, have enabled France to establish the government of her choice against all the efforts of coalesced Europe. Still less can I, by any admission, sanction the idea that there exist in any corner of the British soil, in any English heart, conceptions so narrow, vengeance so base, as to wish to see the pupil of the illustrious Washington perishing in a dungeon on account of his political principles were it even true that he had learned those principles by supporting the cause of America against Great Britain.

tocracy, had not victory at length enabled France to rescue the prisoners of Olmutz. The directory instructed General Bonaparte and Clarke, the plenipotentiaries of the republic to demand, before signing the treaty of peace, the deliverance of Lafayette, Latour-Maubourg, and Bureau de Puzy. The negociation lasted five months, and Napoleon has often said that of all the negociations he had with foreign powers, that was the most difficult, so great was their repugnance to let go their prey. But what could resist the triumphant arms of France, and the prodigious ascendency of Bonaparte! An attempt was however made to impose conditions on the prisoners to whom all communication with each other continued to be denied. Lieut. General the Marquis de Chasteler was the person employed on this occasion. What the nature of the proceeding was will appear from the following declaration made by Lafayette:

"The commission with which the Marquis de Chasteler is entrusted appears to resolve itself into three points:—

1st. "His Imperial Majesty wishes to have our situation ascertained. I am not disposed to make any complaint to him. Some details will be found in my wife's letters which have been trans-

mitted or sent back by the Austrian government; and if it be not convenient for your Imperial Majesty to refer to the instructions sent from Vienna in your name, I will willingly give to the Marquis de Chasteler whatever information he may desire.

"2nd. His Majesty the Emperor and King wishes to be assured that immediately upon my liberation I will depart for America. This is an intention which I have frequently expressed; but as, at the present moment, my reply would seem an acknowledgment of the right to impose this condition upon me, I do not think proper to satisfy such a demand.

"3rd. His Majesty the Emperor and King has done me the honour to signify that the principles I profess being incompatible with the security of the Austrian government, he does not choose that I should return into his dominions without his special permission. There are duties which I cannot fail to fulfil. Some I owe to the United-States, some to France, and I cannot pledge myself to anything that may be contrary to the right my country possesses over my person. With these exceptions, I can assure the Marquis de Chasteler that it is my unalterable determi-

nation never to set foot on any territory which acknowledges obedience to His Majesty the King of Bohemia and Hungary."

Maubourg and Bureau-de-Puzy also made their declarations, and in consequence the three prisoners signed the following engagement:

"I, the undersigned, promise to his majesty the Emperor and King never, at any time, to enter his hereditary provinces without his special permission, always excepting the rights which my country possesses over my person."

The prison-gates now appeared to be closed for ever. The Austrian ambassadors, however, affirmed at the head quarters of the army of Italy, that the prisoners were liberated. But Bonaparte guessed the falsehood, and sent M. Louis Romeuf, formerly aide-de-camp to Lafayette, to treat directly with the minister Thugut. At length on the 13th of September, the prisoners were released from captivity, and conducted to Hamburgh, where an entertainment was prepared for them on board some American vessels. They were first taken to the house of the American Consul, as the cabinet of Vienna had required, and from thence they repaired to the residence of

the minister of the French republic, where they mounted the national cockade.

Though the prisoners of Olmutz were triumphantly released through the perseverance of their government, though they were received and loaded with marks of respect by the agents of France abroad, yet it was long before they returned to their country. They would have been required to sign their adherence to the decisions of the 18th fructidor, and that act of weakness would have ill become men who had sacrificed and suffered so much rather than adhere, in 1792, to the violation of the constitutional throne, and the national representation. Moreover, they felt it to be a sacred duty to extend the expression of their gratitude to that portion of the government and councils who had concurred with the victorious party in obtaining their release, and who had just been banished and proscribed. It is a remarkable fact, that at this period, when Lafayette was treated abroad as a Citizen-General, and when the French minister was present as a witness at his daughter's marriage in the house of the French consul, the remainder of his property was sold in France. He had refused the emolu-

ments and compensation offered to him on the breaking out of the revolution, though a great portion of his fortune had been expended for the public cause.*

Lafayette passed some time in Holstein, a neutral territory; and he afterwards proceeded to Holland, at the special invitation of the republic, where the relations he had maintained with that state, and with the proscribed Dutch in 1787, were gratefully remembered. While in Holland, he learned the memorable event of the 18th brumaire, and he immediately resolved to proceed to Paris, without either permission or previous erasure from the proscribed list. He contented himself with informing the provisional consuls, that since they once more professed the principles of 1789, his place was in France. It was not long before he and his companions were restored to their rights as French

* It is known that the United States at this time voted to Lafayette, the number of acres of land in the best provinces of Louisiana, which were due to his rank. It will also be remembered that in 1815 the Congress presented to the Soldiers of Liberty, the munificent donation of a million of dollars, and a considerable extent of land in the Floridas, alleging with exquisite delicacy, that it was a compensation for his early expenses.

citizens. Lafayette retired into the country, and his son entered the French army, where he served with distinction. He refused a seat in the Departmental Council of the upper Loire; on that occasion Lafayette delivered the following address to his fellow citizens:—

"After having taken part in an honorable revolution, whence the American republics have derived liberty and happiness, I was already a veteran in the cause of the people, when France adopted those eternal truths which, being since invoked by the oppressed of all parties, have incessantly denounced the weak men who permitted their violation, and their violators, who profaned them by a false worship.

"Enjoying myself, the public confidence, and a popularity which I shall never prefer to the discharge of my duty, I flattered myself that after having surmounted, with my fellow-citizens, the storms of their complete renovation, I should leave them to enjoy its fruits; and if this ambition was justified by some services, it is due above all to the patriotism of my friends, to that power instituted, both for the maintenance of legal order, and

the destruction of hostile coalitions, which though paralized in its sedentary existence has so gloriously fulfilled its exterior destination.

" Afterwards, called from retirement to command, impressed with the imminence of our civil dangers, I devoted myself wholly to the task of exposing them, and encouraged by the general wish, I cherished the hope of averting them. But though my conduct on the 10th of August 1792, was the act of my life of which I have most reason to be proud, I will here merely do homage to the worthy martyrs of the national sovereignty and the sworn laws, who, while they supported constitutional royalty, manifested the highest degree of republican virtue.

" Far from regretting, in my melancholy banishment, my precautions for the safety of the army, or my repugnance to deprive the frontier of a single man who could defend it, which caused me and my companions to fall into the hands of the enemy, I regard as the least of my misfortunes, a captivity assuaged by the most gratifying approbation and the kindest sympathy, and terminated by the triumphs of our country, and which, while exhibiting for five years

the malignity of our powerful gaolors, has perhaps served as an antidote to their intrigues.

"Alas! misfortunes, which nothing can terminate, nothing assuage, are those which by inundating France have plunged my heart into eternal grief; the most intolerable suffering is to behold crime deforming and holding up to public odium all that we most dearly love. These disastrous times, which were the result of anarchy, tyranny, and submission, to oppression, must serve but to fortify us in our inflexible love of liberty.

"The liberation of the prisoners of Olmutz, (of whom two, Latour-Maubourg and I have had the honor to be your deputies) though long demanded by the government of our country, and pressed by the zeal of our plenipotentiaries and the victories of Bonaparte, did not take place until near the 18th fructidor. I had abjured all claim to my return, under the system which arose out of the proceedings of that day, but which was succeeded by the engagements and hopes of the 18th brumaire. I then thought I had a right to put a period to my outlawry, and after informing the provisional consuls of my arrival, and demanding the recal of my companions in exile, I

awaited our erasure in the retirement to which I have withdrawn, and where, removed from the turmoil of public affairs, and devoting myself to the repose of private life, I form ardent wishes that peace abroad may speedily crown those miracles of glory which have surpassed the prodigies of preceding campaigns, and that peace at home may be consolidated on the essential and invariable bases of true liberty.

"I feel happy that twenty-five years of vicissitudes in my fortune, and firmness in my principles warrant me in repeating here, that if, to recover her rights it is sufficient for a nation to resolve to do so, she can preserve them only by rigid fidelity to her civil and moral duties."

M. Bignon, in his recently published work, observes, that "the intercourse between General Lafayette and the First Consul was for some time maintained on a very amicable footing. They oftener than once had conversations of three or four hours' duration. To General Bonaparte M. de Lafayette was already a character of past history. In the comrade of Washington, in the old commander of the national guard of 1789, he honored virtues which did not belong to his practice. He had already, as he did again, at a

subsequent period, manifested a wish to attach Lafayette to his government; but the latter was not inclined to comply with that wish. Whilst the First Consul grew in greatness, and unfortunately in power, General Lafayette continued in his retirement the worshipper of liberty. We shall find them both on the scene of public affairs during the melancholy events of 1815."

In one of the conversations between Lafayette and Bonaparte, the former blamed the project of the Concordate. "While you consecrate, as you ought to do, religious liberty," said he to the First Consul, "do not create an established religion. Leave every individual, as in the United States, to pay for his own worship and to appoint his own ministers. Really pious men ask for nothing more, and will bless you; political devotees will say that you have not done enough; and anti-religionists that you have done too much. They will be equally wrong*."

* M. Bignot thus relates the conclusion of the above conversation: "Confess," said General Lafayette, to the First Consul, "that there is no other object in all this than to break the little phial. That is to say, to raise a barrier between the Bourbons and the French clergy." "You are making sport of the little phial and me too," replied the First Consul; "but be assured that it

Several endeavors were made, but without effect, to induce Lafayette to enter the senate. Napoleon at length determined to speak to him himself. Lafayette's answer to the latter was candid and produced no misunderstanding between them. Accordingly, with the consent too of the First Consul, he retired from the army. "Connected," he said in his letter to the minister, "from their commencement with those institutions which have triumphed in Europe, united by the ties of affection to the generals of the republic, I have ever been their comrade, but I pretend not, after so many victories, to be their rival; I beg then, if you think I ought to be put on the retired list, to have the goodness to request it of the First Consul."

But at the period of the consulate for life,

matters little to me, either at home or abroad, to make the Pope and all those folks declare against the legitimacy of the Bourbons. I every day meet with these follies in negociations. The dioceses of France are yet ruled by bishops in the pay of the enemy. But do you not come to reproach me with an act of tyranny against a priest?" (A priest had been imprisoned as a lunatic because he preached a seditious sermon.) "I confess that was an act of tyranny, but what other mode is there of keeping them within bounds, as long as they are not subject to discipline?"

he voted in these terms: "I cannot vote for such a magistracy, until public liberty has been sufficiently guaranteed. Then will I give my vote to Napoleon Bonaparte." His letter on this occasion has been often published. "General," said he, "when a man, penetrated with the gratitude which he owes you and too much alive to glory not to admire yours, has placed restrictions on his suffrage, those restrictions will be so much the less suspected when it is known that none, more than himself, would delight to see you chief magistrate for life of a free republic. The 18th brumaire saved France*, and I felt that I was recalled by the liberal professions to which you have attached your honor. We afterwards beheld in the consular power, that restorative dictatorship which, under the auspices of your genius, has achieved such great things, less great however, than will be the restoration of liberty. It is impossible that you, general, the first in that order of men, (whom to quote and compare it would require me to retrace every age of history,) can wish that such a revolution, so many victories, so much blood and miseries,

* It was not in fact on the 18th brumaire, but on the 18th fructidor that the constitution of the year 3 was destroyed.

should produce to the world and to ourselves no other result than an arbitrary system. The French people have too well known their rights to have entirely forgotten them. But perhaps they are better enabled to recover them now with advantage than in the heat of effervescence; and you, by the power of your character and the public confidence, by the superiority of your talents, your situation, and your fortune, may, by re-establishing liberty, subdue our dangers and calm our inquietudes. I have no other than patriotic and personal motives in wishing for you, as the climax of your glory, a permanent magistrative post; but it is in unison with my principles, my engagements, the actions of my whole life, to ascertain before I vote, that liberty is established on bases worthy of the nation and of you. I hope you will now acknowledge, general, as you have already had occasion to do, that to firmness in my political opinions are joined sincere wishes for your welfare and profound sentiments of my obligations to you." "From this time" says M. Bignon, "all communication between Lafayette and the First Consul ceased."

Lafayette lived in retirement at Lagrange, the paternal estate of his mother-in-law the

Duchess d'Ayen, who perished on the revolutionary scaffold together with her eldest daughter and the Maréchale de Noailles. He devoted himself with ardor and success to some important agricultural experiments. His son remained in the army, notwithstanding the marked dislike of the Emperor who had at first noticed him with approbation, but who, nevertheless, constantly refused to advance him when requested to do so by his generals. He did not tender his resignation until after the peace of Tilsit and before the Spanish war. Soon, however, the tranquil retreat of Lafayette and his family was embittered by an unfortunate event. Heaven, to use the words of General Fitzpatrick, had destined him to be the husband of a woman whose name will be revered as long as sublime virtue shall command respect, and unmerited affliction shall inspire compassion in the human heart. "This lady, (says M. de Segur,) who was a model of heroism and indeed of every virtue, imbibed during her captivity and misfortunes, that disorder which, after protracted suffering, terminated her life on the 24th of December, 1807; she died surrounded by a numerous family who offered up ardent prayers to heaven for her preservation."

When unable to articulate, a smile played upon her lips at the sight of her husband and children who bathed her death-bed with their tears. Devoted to her domestic duties, which were her only pleasure; adorned by every virtue; pious, modest, charitable, severe to herself, indulgent to others, she was one of the few whose pure reputation has received fresh lustre from the misfortunes of the revolution. Though ruined by our political storms, yet she scarcely seemed to recollect that she had ever enjoyed ample fortune. She was the happiness of her family, the friend of the poor, the consoler of the afflicted, an ornament to her country and an honor to her sex." (Extract from the *Journal de l'Empire du 25 Décembre,* 1807.

Meanwhile the prodigious genius of Bonaparte pursued its ambitious and brilliant career. All sovereigns, all aristocracies, religions, civil and military, were at his feet*; the frontiers of the empire had extended far beyond their natural and desirable limits. He distributed thrones, and at the same time destroyed the signs and forms of liberty, by corrupting the patriotic

* Et de ses pieds on peut voir la poussière,
Empreinte encor sur le bandeau des Rois.—BÉRANGER.

institution of the jury, nullyfying the national representation by reducing it to a powerless and silent phantom, re-establishing the clergy as a body, restoring hereditary nobility, the censorship of the press, lettres de cachet, state prisons, and tribunals of exception; by suppressing the municipal and departmental elections, and the institution of the national guard; and by disarming and enslaving the French people as well as all the rest of the continent.

The awful catastrophe of the Russian campaign was doomed to put an end to his prodigious career. There then arose a spirit of reaction among the subjugated nations, and a feeling of indifference among the people hitherto victorious, whom the calculations of imperial despotism had weaned from all interest in the public cause; and thus it happened that, under the greatest general since the age of Cæsar, and in despite of the efforts of his genius and his incomparable army, France beheld the enemy in her capital, lost all the conquests of her revolution, and some of those acquired under the old government and was once more placed under the sceptre of the Bourbons who owed their restoration to the faults of Napoleon, as he owed his fall, to

use his own words, to the force of liberal opinions.

During these events, as during the course of the first restoration and the Emperor's second accession, Lafayette, whose deportment had been a sort of constant protest against the violation of his principles, took no part in public affairs. But when the Congress of Vienna placed Bonaparte beyond the pale of the law, when the coalesced powers were arrayed a second time against France, for the purpose of re-establishing Louis XVIII by force of arms, he issued from his retreat. Being invited on this last occasion by Prince Joseph in the name of liberty and of his country to ascertain, himself, the value of pledges given to the nation and at the same time to foreign powers, he replied: *that such an appeal in the crisis in which they were placed allowed him no room for hesitation; but that he had, nevertheless, a great fund of incredulity, which balanced in some sort, his over confidence in the year* 8.

In the additional act he disapproved of the sovereign power taking the priority which ought to have been left to a national representation; he condemned the hereditary peerage as an

institution opposed to his political creed, and wished not to renew his personal relations with the Emperor, foreseeing, as he said, that his unbending nature would make him sooner or later his opponent. He did not, however, show himself the less determined to serve him to the utmost of his power and to aid with all the influence, his rank as a popular deputy gave him, the efforts which Bonaparte made to repel foreign invasion and intrigue, and to oppose those princes who appeared in the ranks of the enemy and under the protection of their bayonets. He made at his commune and in the departmental college of the Seine and Marne every reservation for the rights of the nation in general and for those of each individual citizen, and yet he was nevertheless elected president and afterwards first deputy. Lafayette did not lend himself to the project, which was broached, of nominating him president of the chamber, but he was one of the vice-presidents and he urged the formation of a new constitution. In the committee for drawing up the address he demanded that it should be conformable to the national dignity. "The Emperor Napoleon," said M. Lafayette, "ascending gradually from his post

of national magistrate to seat himself upon a throne without limits, seems to have wished to punish, as for the abuse of republican forms, by making us feel all the weight of absolute monarchy. He jumbled together the men and opinions of two arbitrary systems, to the exclusion of the principles of 1789, and made constant advances towards despotism, through the carelessness of the people."

General Lafayette, in expressing his desire that the assembly should assume an attitude capable of inspiring confidence in the nation and in Europe, said that its conduct would settle the question as to whether it was to be called *the representation of the French people* or simply *the Napoleon Club*. He devotedly applied himself to all the means of resistance required by the Emperor, and regretted Napoleon's repugnance to employ the national mass, for instance, the great levy offered by Brittany. But the disaster of Waterloo, the arrival of Napoleon, the instantaneous plan, then avowed but since denied, of dissolving the chamber of representatives and the ill-boding predictions of his most devoted adherents, rendered the adoption of other measures necessary.

In this momentous crisis, 21st of June, Lafayette, without having had time to forewarn his colleagues, mounted the tribune and said:

"When for the first time for many years, I now raise a voice which the old friends of liberty may still remember, I feel myself called upon, gentlemen, to address you respecting the dangers of the country, which you alone are now able to save.

"Sinister reports have been spread abroad; they are now unhappily confirmed. The moment has arrived for rallying round the old tricoloured standard, that of 1789, that of liberty, equality and public order. It is that standard alone, which we have to defend against foreign pretensions and internal intrigues. Permit, gentlemen, a veteran in this sacred cause; one who was ever a stranger to the spirit of faction, to submit to you some provisionary resolutions the necessity of which I trust you will acknowledge.

"Art. 1. The chamber of representatives declares that the independence of the nation is menaced.

"2. The chamber declares itself permanent. Every attempt to dissolve it is high treason; and whoever is guilty of that attempt, will be

a traitor to the country, and instantly condemned as such.

" 3. The army of the line and the national guards who have fought and still are fighting to defend the liberty, the independence and the territory of France, have merited well of the country.

" 4. The minister of the interior is called upon to assemble the general staff and the commandants and majors of the national guard of Paris, in order to consider of the means of arming and rendering most efficient that civic guard, whose patriotism and zeal, after twenty-six years' trial, offer a sure guarantee for the liberty, property and tranquillity of the capital and for the inviolability of the representatives of the nation.

" 5. The minister of war, for foreign affairs, of the interior, and of the police are required to join the assembly immediately."

The assembly adopted these resolutions on the instant, but some persons artfully procured the adjournment of the article relative to the national guard, which would have placed fifty thousand men at the disposal of the assembly, for its own defence and that of the capital. Nevertheless many battalions came spontaneously to range

themselves under the command of the national representatives and their old general.

In the secret committee which was held that evening, Lucien Bonaparte, having ventured some allusion to the volatile character of the French people, M. de Lafayette rose and pronounced in his place with impressive composure, the following words: "That is a calumnious assertion, which has just been preferred. Who can dare accuse Frenchmen of fickleness and want of steadiness, with regard to the Emperor Napoleon? Did they not follow him through the sands of Egypt and along the deserts of Russia, over fifty fields of battle, in his disasters as well as in his victories, and it is for having followed him that they have to regret the blood of three millions of their countrymen!" These few words produced a deep impression on the assembly, and even Lucien himself made a respectful obedience before the worthy veteran of liberty.

As soon as Napoleon sent in his abdication, a provisional government was created. Every one thought that Lafayette would have formed a part of it, and that he would then have been elected president. His avowed intention was to make

an appeal to the French people, to call upon the nation to rise in support of an army still numerous, and he doubted not that those national guards and those tried troops of the line, would be better enabled than in 1792 to repulse the enemies, with whom he would never treat, except on the other side of the frontiers, leaving the nation to adopt her own constitution and choose her own destiny. Intrigue, ignorance, old prejudices and new plots prevailed. The proposition of the Duke of Otranto and of MM. Dupin and Regnault was to name five commissioners: *three* chosen in the chamber of representatives and *two* in the chamber of peers. Public report alluded to Fouché and Carnot as the two to be named in the peers, and among the deputies, Generals Lafayette and Grenier, and a third upon whom the choice was said to be not yet determined. These arrangements were altered by a species of mystification of which many persons were the dupes. In the second draught of this proposition, the word *by* was substituted for *in*. The chamber of representatives made the first choice. They were persuaded to nominate two of the peers; they chose Carnot and Fouché. Lafayette and Grenier

were then ballotted for, and the latter was chosen. It was thought, two hours before the scrutiny, that Lafayette had the majority of votes: but it proved otherwise; not that his personal friends, on this occasion, as in the affair of the precedency, had withheld this honor from him, on the contrary, they eagerly promoted his election; but many interests and passions were arrayed against him. The influence which the royal party might possess, if not within the house, at least out of doors, was directed against a man for whom indeed it had recently manifested its dislike,* and who

* This malevolence is evinced in a manner as bitter as it is mendacious, in a History of the Restoration recently published, in which there are many proofs that not a few of its notes have been supplied by the men who, at that time, intrigued for Louis XVIII among the members of the chamber of representatives, and with Fouché himself,—those same men who pursued with their ingratitude and their hatred Napoleon, whose humble servants they had previously proved themselves. Lafayette on the other hand endeavored to secure his passage to the United States, and testified to the fallen Emperor on that very occasion, every sentiment compatible with his patriotic duties.

M. Galatin, who is known to Europe and especially to France by his diplomatic labours, and whom America reckons with pride among the number of the most constant and able defenders of her

would listen to no compromise at variance with certain fixed principles of their own. Many republicans who had proscribed him by calling him *aristocrat* and *royalist*, and who were now covered with titles and orders, reproached him with entertaining republican designs, and with being no more favorable to the new hereditary nobility than he had been to the old. Reports were circulated that he would refuse the office; that he reserved himself for the national guard; or for an embassy. The consequence was that, he obtained but one hundred and forty-two votes. If this disposition to oppose the interests of parties was unfavorable to him, the Duke of Otranto, on the contrary,

liberties, when addressing Lafayette, in 1825, in the name of the inhabitants of Union Town, paid a splendid compliment to his generosity towards the Emperor Napoleon.

" But," said he, " the colossus fell: and although his flatterers betrayed and deserted him, you who resisted him when he was in the summit of his power, alone recollected that you owed to his first victories your delivery from the prisons of Olmutz; and you were one of the first to propose the means of safety which was then sought to be procured for him and which perhaps, but for a strange blindness on his part (his prejudice against republican ideas) and the shameless perfidy of his false friends, might have rescued him from the unfortunate fate which awaited him.

found himself supported by the Bonapartists who knew him to be in correspondence with M. de Metternich, to secure the regency; by the conventionalists who were attached to old interests and, above all, by the ardent votaries of royalty who looked up to him as their exclusive advocate. The republican integrity of Carnot, his correspondence during the last crisis with Bonaparte, in whose conversion he trusted, and whom he regarded in the sincerity of his patriotism, as the palladium of liberty, had also assured to him a great majority, especially as his character presented a kind of pledge of the most vital importance at that moment, viz: that he would give no uneasiness by any connexion with the adherents of ancient privileges. General Grenier, one of the most respected generals in the army, was the third person elected. The chamber of peers chose Baron Quinette, formerly member of the convention, and the Duke of Vicenza well known for the freedom with which he treated the Emperor Napoleon. As to the presidency, the choice rested between Carnot and Fouché. The vote of the Duke of Otranto decided the question, which became very important from the influence which he exer-

cised over his colleagues, and by their consigning to him negociations of the most important nature. It was believed either that the national guard would nominate its chief as at the commencement of the revolution, or that the choice would be consigned to the assembly. That chief would have been in either case, the general who created that guard twenty-six years before. The government, however, chose to appoint him to an embassy.

A great majority of the chamber sincerely believed that they saw utility in this decision. Marshal Massena, who had saved France at Zurich and at Genoa was appointed commandant of the national guard of Paris.*

Thus, by the influence of Fouché who had already entered into an understanding with the enemies of France, Lafayette was got out of the

* When Massena received the congratulatory visits of the national guard on his appointment, he had the good grace to allude to the wish that was entertained, to see Lafayette in the chief command, as in 1789, and he expressed his determination to walk in his footsteps. Lafayette, for his part, declared to Massena, that he would always be ready to serve him in the capacity of aide-de-camp. Thus it is that public men ought ever to conduct themselves, when the interest of their country demands it.

way and sent to treat with those enemies for an armistice, they being secretly recommended to detain him until after the capitulation. In this negociation the plenipotentiaries supported the rights and honor of France, but they did not obtain the truce they demanded.

The English ambassador having raised doubts respecting the legal character of a chamber convoked by Bonaparte, "I am astonished," replied Lafayette, "that a public man of your country, does not acknowledge that the authority of a national assembly is derived rather from those who elect, than from him who convokes it."

"And since we have alluded to past times," added Lafayette, "I beg you, my lord, to recollect that, in that very revolution, which I together with you and every Englishman call glorious, the situation of the army of James II, was a little different from that of the French army in its relation to Louis XVIII. James had formed the army, he had fought with it; it owed him allegiance, but that did not prevent the troops and even the favorite of the King, your great Marlborough from deserting in the night, not indeed to rally under a national banner, but to join a foreign army, prince and flag."

The ambassador being at last requested to declare whether he would accept of peace, on the condition of delivering up Bonaparte to the allies, he replied, " I am surprised, my lord, that in making so odious a proposition to the French nation, you should have addressed yourself to one of the prisoners of Olmutz." He had endeavored, before his departure, to obtain for Napoleon two frigates to conduct him to the United States; but every thing was changed. The plenipotentiaries on their return, found, as the intriguers intended, the capitulation concluded and the army removed. Lafayette, and his colleagues d'Argenson and Sebastiani arrived in time to sign their adherence, on the 6th to that famous declaration, proclaimed the evening before by the chamber of representatives. This important document may, with propriety, find a place here.

DECLARATION OF THE CHAMBER OF REPRESENTATIVES, ON THE SITTING OF THE 5th JULY, 1815.

" The troops of the allied powers are about to occupy the capital.

" The chamber of representatives will nevertheless continue to sit amidst the inhabitants of Paris, where the declared will of the people has called upon them to assemble.

" But at this important juncture the chamber of representatives owes to itself, to France, and to Europe, a declaration of its sentiments and its principles.

" It accordingly declares that it makes a solemn appeal to the fidelity and to the patriotism of the national guard of Paris, which has under its protection the national representation.

" It declares that it places the fullest reliance on the moral principles, honor, and magnanimity of the allied powers, and on their respect for the independence of the nation, so positively expressed in their manifestoes.

" It declares that the government of France, whoever may be at its head, must accord with the wishes of the nation, legally expressed, and ought to co-operate with the other governments to ensure a common pledge, and guarantee of peace between France and Europe.

" It declares that no monarch can offer true guarantees, if he do not swear to abide by a constitution determined on by national representa-

tives, and accepted by the people Thus, no government will enjoy a permanent existence, or secure the tranquillity of France and Europe, which rests merely on the acclamation or will of a party—which is imposed by force—which does not adopt the national colours, and guarantee;

The liberty of citizens,

The equality of civil and religious rights,

The liberty of the press,

The liberty of religious worship,

The representative system,

Free assent to the levies of troops and taxes,

The responsibility of ministers,

The irrevocability of the sales of national property of every description,

The inviolability of property,

The abolition of tithes, of the old and new nobility, hereditary succession, and the feudal system,

The abolition of the confiscation of property,

The complete oblivion of political opinions and votes, down to the present day,

The institution of the legion of honour,

The reward due to officers and soldiers,

The pecuniary aid due to their widows,

The institution of the jury,

The irremoveability of judges,

The payment of the public debt.

If the cases mentioned in this declaration should be disavowed or violated, the representative of the French people, now discharging a sacred duty, protest by anticipation, in the face of the whole world, against the violence and usurpation. They entrust the maintenance of these conditions to all good Frenchmen, to all generous hearts, to all enlightened minds, to all men jealous of their liberty, and to future generations!

Signed,

LANJUINAIS, President.

BEDOCH, DUMOLARD, and CLEMENT DE DOUBS, Secretaries.

When, on the 8th, the chamber was taken possession of, and its members found the doors closed against them, Lafayette asked them to proceed to his house, and from thence 200 deputies went to the residence of the president Lanjuinais to sign the following document:

PROTEST AGAINST THE CLOSING OF THE DOORS OF THE CHAMBER.

July 18th, 1815, Ten o'clock A. M.

"In the sitting of yesterday on the message by which the committee of the government announced that its functions had ceased, the chamber of re-

presentatives proceeded to the order of the day. It afterwards continued its deliberations on the project of a constitutional act, the drawing up of which was expressly recommended to it by the French people. The sitting was then adjourned till 8 o'clock A.M. this day, the 8th of July.

"In pursuance of this adjournment the members of the chamber of representatives proceeded to the place where these sittings are usually held; but the doors being closed, the avenues guarded by an armed force, and the officers in command having announced that they had formal orders to refuse the deputies admission,

"The undersigned members of the chamber assembled at the house of M. Lanjuinais, their president, where they drew up, and individually signed, this minute, in proof of the facts therein stated.

[Here follow the signatures.]

The committee appointed to present the declaration to the sovereigns not having succeeded in doing so, Lafayette sent it to Count Capo d'Istrias. The letter which contained this inclosure, together with his declaration of adherence, concluded thus:

"Have you had the kindness to speak in behalf

of an unfortunate woman,* whose mother behaved to me during my captivity in a manner which I can never forget, even although I should now be called a Bonapartist by the powerful enemies of Napoleon. However, neither they, nor their ambassadors have ever seen me visit him."

Lafayette afterwards returned to his country seat at La Grange, which he did not quit for a moment, except to propose at an American banquet, his toast to the memory of the American and French soldiers who died defending their country against foreign invasion.

The election of M. Lafayette as a member of the Chamber of Deputies during the congress of Aix-la-Chapelle caused a great sensation there. During the performance of his legislative duties as deputy, first for La Sarthe and afterwards for the arrondissement of Meaux, he uniformly and without disguise defended the principles he had proposed throughout the whole of his life. In 1819 in opposing the resolution of the Chamber of Peers against the law of election, already so limited and restrictive he moved "that the institution of trial by jury should be restored with

* Queen Hortense.

all its protective forms, and that the recal of banished persons should be the termination of all measures of proscription." He called the municipal system of that period "an avowed despotism, the feudal system in disguise." He said, "that the institution of the national guards was the only thing that could have resolved the problem of the alliance of liberty in a great continental state with the security of its territory and its independence." And he declared, "that the foreign invasion in 1792 could alone have insured the triumph of anarchy. It was a fatal alliance," he added, "the alliance of anarchy, oligarchy, and despotism which has already been revealed by some of the parties to it, and which history will reveal in still blacker colours."—The tumult which prevailed at the sitting of the 17th of May, having rendered inaudible the various opinions expressed by members respecting the recal of banished persons Lafayette published his. When speaking that same year on the budget he maintained, "that the principle object of every country was to be governed as well and as cheaply as possible." He wished the most scrupulous precision with respect to all the articles of the budget, he also required "that

none but Frenchmen should be employed in the public service, and Frenchmen, as long as any such remain, who have fought under their country's banners." Finally, he repeated, in allusion to the national guard, the three essential conditions of the laws of 1791 "the arming of the nation, the subordination of the armed force to the civil authority, and the appointment of officers by citizens. It is out of this institution, said he, that have arisen those heroic armies, the produce of patriotism and civil equality, whose glorious remains, now that they have returned to their homes, afford an example of domestic virtues and of every sentiment, becoming good citizens." In his speech upon that occasion the following remarkable passage occurs: "The constituent assembly found it impossible to alter any thing without changing all. If the reconstruction was imperfect the general principles were, whatever may be said of them, very salutary, for notwithstanding all that was afterwards lost by anarchy, terrorism, the maximum bankruptcy, and civil war—notwithstanding a terrible struggle with all Europe, this incontestible truth is established, viz:—that agriculture, industry, and public instruction in France, the comfort and indepen-

dence of three fourths of our population, and I say again, public morals, have been improved to a degree of which there is no example in any equal period of history or in any other part of the old world."

In 1820 Lafayette brought forward a special proposition for the reorganization of the national guard. "I feel implicit confidence," he said, "in our young army; it will prove itself, when occasion requires, always brave, always patriotic, two essential conditions of honor for the warriors of a free country. To name our veterans is to retrace their glory and our gratitude. But the country requires a third barrier of our independence and our territory, and an indispensible guarantee of liberty and order, viz:—the national guard." The consideration of this proposition was adjourned.

On the 2nd of March he made use of the following language, whilst defending the right of petition, "Gentlemen, we have heard of *coups-d'état*, and extreme measures; some persons have even condescended to tranquillize our anxiety on this subject; and really, after the French people have alternately exhausted the *coups-d'état* of jacobinism, despotism and aristocracy, when they have been so dearly taught not, in future to

take ordinances for laws, commands for budgets, and despotism for a claim to obedience, such an idea can only excite commiseration for the folly of those who could venture to cherish it. But there is another, and too usual a mode of accomplishing *coups-d'état*; which is, rendering the chambers parties to them."

During the same year, when replying to ministers, who in proposing measures hostile to personal liberty, used the words *pernicious doctrines*, Lafayette observed, "Those expressions have been employed officially by the minister whom I now see before me. Let him be pleased to say whether he alludes to that declaration of principles which gave liberty to the French people; —over which the terrorists of 1793 wished that a veil should be drawn, while it was invoked in the name of an oppressed worship, in the first manifesto of the Vendeans, and in the name of suffering mankind in the proclamations of the illustrious and generous city of Lyons. Another minister," said he, "boasted yesterday, of the theory of *flexible doctrines*. He cited his experience. My experience, on the contrary, teaches me that all the evils of France have been produced, less by the perversity of the wicked, and the violence of fools, than by the hesitation of the

weak, the compromises of conscience and the tardiness of patriotism. Let every deputy, every Frenchman shew what he feels, what he thinks, and we are saved!

"Thanks then to those who have spoken before, of all parties, and particularly to my colleague of La Sarthe! The question has been placed in a clear point of view: on the one hand, the past revolution with all its advantages, moral, physical, and political: on the other hand, the counter revolution to come with its privileges and its perils. It is for the chamber, it is for France to choose.

"Gentlemen, thirty years ago, in the assembly of the notables of 1787, I was the first to demand the abolition of *lettres de cachet:* I now vote against their restoration."

On the 23d of March, speaking on the censorship of the press, he made an animated digression on the reports which were circulated respecting projects hostile to Spain, and ended with these remarkable words:—"Let the charter be respected; for to violate it would be to dissolve it, to dissolve the mutual guarantees of the nation and the throne, to throw ourselves back to the primitive independence of our rights and duties."

In the sitting of the 17th of May 1820, he warmly opposed the alterations in the law of elections. "I flattered myself," said he, "that the different parties, yielding at length to the general necessity for liberty and repose, would, by mutual sacrifices, have sought to secure those blessings by the exercise of the rights which the charter has acknowledged, and by those institutions which were to lead us tranquilly to the possession of all social guarantees. My hope has been disappointed. The counter-revolution is in the government; it is wished to fix it in the chambers. It is the duty of myself and my friends to declare it to the nation.

"Conceiving also that the engagements of the charter are founded on reciprocity, I have honestly warned the violators of sworn faith.

"On what," added he, "depends the existence of the charter? Is it religion, or right divine? But several previous acts, issuing from the same source, have for nineteen years invoked the same talisman.

"Is it the promulgation of the 4th of June? But what Frenchman, having a just sense of his rights did not feel indignant at the formula by which the nation was said to be delivered, at the moment

when she replaced the royal standard at the head of her banners, loaded with laurels? Is it because this charter first arrived in the train of foreign armies, and was afterwards brought back by them? But, on the contrary, is there not disadvantage here? It must be acknowledged, gentlemen, if the charter, in spite of all that had gone before it, in spite of its imperfections, its commentaries, avowed as well as confidential, has really become popular among us, it is because it retracted many counter-revolutionary doctrines, hopes, and declarations; because it was presented by its august author as a guarantee for personal liberty, the liberty of the press, the liberty of religious worship, the equality of rights, the independence of the jury, the inviolability of all property, and as the pledge of a representative system which might render effectual this recent acknowledgment of our rights and the fruits of the revolution.

"Well, gentlemen, what has ensued? The liberty of the press, and personal liberty have once more been sacrificed; the organic laws of the municipal system, of the administrative system, of the independence of juries, of the responsibility of the agents of power, which we were informed

were all ready last year; and as the King's commissioners say they now are, are obstinately withheld. Government will neither form nor arm the national guard, which, therefore, has no resource in this moment of danger, but to rise spontaneously.

"Now, gentlemen," continued he, "are we no longer permitted to think that a nation belongs to herself, and is not the property of any one; that in a free country every soldier is the soldier of his country; that we owe obedience only to legal orders, and not to oppression; for despotism, whatever form it may assume, is the most insolent of revolutions, the most scandalous and lasting of public disorders! We have nothing to do with Cicero, the Prætors, or the sword of Brennus; though I confess that the minister who wished to overwhelm me with his erudition, might justly have quoted to me, by way of reproach, this line of Lucan, which is engraven on the ruins of the Bastille:

Ignorant ne datos, ne quisquam serviat, enses?*

"But let it not be believed, on the faith of

* It was Lafayette who caused this quotation from Lucan, to be inscribed on the medals of the French guards.

all this declamation that the promoters of French liberty were only the creators of trouble, because in 1788, at the time when aristocratic sedition was disseminated through the capital and the provinces, by the nobility, clergy and parliaments, they substituted, for so many interested passions, a passion for the public welfare, and for the revolt of the privileged orders a demand for the rights of the nation. Gentlemen, every member of this chamber has a right to explain himself on a personal fact, on an injurious imputation; and in justice to the memory of my numerous friends, who fell victims to their attachment to the constitutional system, I must here call to mind that after the noble national impulse of 1789 restored the people to their just position, every subsequent irregularity was committed, not only in spite of us, but against us.

"Our adversaries, in whatever rank you may take them, have themselves frequently acknowledged that their safety, their property, and their rights were preserved by that same national guard which appointed its own officers, which is now described as the instrument of disorder and faction, while in truth it was as much a stranger to the other factions, as to that armed emigration, but for

which we should have had no 10th of August, no death of the King, no 21st of January, and no reign of terror.

" Gentlemen, we have at all times, and without exception served the cause of liberty, condemned crime instead of protecting it, repelled intrigue, opposed despotism, anarchy and privileges; and since repeated attacks force me to speak out since so much is said about factious committees, I may be permitted to mention that we have never, from the very outset, ceased to point out, what indescreet disclosures have subsequently confirmed:— I allude to those counter-revolutionary associations, the auxiliaries of jacobinism at home, which while abroad the invasion of France is implored, concur with the other categories of perverse or misled disorganizers, to render the revolution odious, by forcing it to deviate from its primitive and generous impulse: take for example, the troubles of Nismes in 1790, which were generally attributed to the reprisals of a day, for a century of religious persecution, until, since the restoration, one of the principal instigators of those excesses revealed the secret, by publicly demanding his salary. These seditious associations, under various denominations, sometimes to the great regret of the

constitutionalists, took part in their resistance to terrorist oppression, and turned it to the advantage of hostile governments; sometimes confined themselves to services which I will not name, but which are now recompensed at the expense of the defenders of their country;—and finally, under the imperial system, disappeared without ceasing to be united; and it would now be easy to ascertain their real condition if government were pleased to draw aside, from one end of France to the other, the mysterious and blood stained veil, which the spirited petition of M. Madier-Montgan has only partially raised."

Three of the previous speakers having used some disrespectful expressions in reference to the tri-coloured flag, Lafayette warmly defended that symbol of emancipation and glory, "which," said he, "Louis XVI accepted from the hands of the nation, which his successor was proud to bear, and whose least title of honour, is to have floated in every capital, received the homage of every potentate, and to have triumphed over all the most powerful flags of Europe." If I refrain out of respect to the present time, to retrace a picture of that past regime so boasted, so regretted, it will be sufficient to call to mind that a host of old

abuses (here he rapidly enumerated them), and iniquities consecrated by the civil and religious authorities, have vanished in France and in other parts of Europe, before that national standard, which, in its origin was, I am proud to repeat, *the flag of liberty, equality, and public order.*"

In the session of 1821, during a discussion on the different parts of the budget:—"The public debt of the state," said he, "whatever be its origin, is sacred. Like you, I regret its encrease, but without accusing either the errors of the first restoration which brought about the 20th of March, or the fatal landing at Cannes, which mingled with the movements of a resistance more salutary and less alarming; or the conditions of the last treaty of peace exclusively stipulated between the powers at war with France and the august ally of those powers, I shall confine myself to drawing from the past a great lesson for the future: which is that it would have cost much less, as I then said, to expel the foreign coalition than to bargain with it; that if ever those unfortunate circumstances should recur, and if, following the example of Napoleon and the provisional government, the government of France should hesitate to raise the whole nation, it will be the duty of the nation itself sponta-

neously to take up arms, and assemble the millions of her youth, to crush the violators of her independence.

" The civil list," he added, " was voted for the duration of the present reign; but when, in consequence of encroachments and delapidations, a personal income of forty millions is deemed insufficient for the monarch and his family, I may be permitted to refer, (not to the country which possesses ten millions of population, and in which the salary of the chief of the state does not equal that of a French minister,) but to the monarchical, aristocratic and expensive government of England, where, though the pensions of the princes are smaller than in France, and more than half the civil list is appropriated to the payment of the ministers, the diplomatic body and the judges, the sum of which the King has to render any account, does not exceed fifteen or a hundred thousand francs. As to the remainder of what is destined for royal expenditure, the accounts are annually submitted to parliament, with such scrupulous regularity, that, according to a law proposed by the celebrated Burke, any of the King's tradesmen who neglect to send in their bills within three months, shall forfeit their right of claim."

On another occasion, he complained of "the sudden irruption of a number of claimants to rewards, for having in fact or in intention, on foreign hire, or in internal insurrection, openly or in obscurity and even in imperial liveries, manifested or disguised their opposition governments which, after being each flattered in its turn, are now styled illegitimate. Thus, by the deviations and temporary apostacy of a revolution of liberty and equality, we are likely for some years to come, to see Europe burthened with two complete sets of dynasties, of noble and privileged orders. . . .

. . . . . .

"I ask," he said, "whether we ought in conscience to support by our pecuniary votes, a scandalously expensive government, the measures of which are evidently contrary to the rights and wishes of almost all tax-payers, who, of course, pay their money with the view of being served honestly and for the national interest.

"Our system of criminal justice," he observed, "must also be denounced. Its preliminary proceedings, contrived by the most artful despotism, have reduced the law of *lettre de cachet* to a mere luxury of tyranny. The excessive severity of our criminal code is acknowledged by all, even those

who, notwithstanding the fallacy of human judgment, and after the many judicial murders we have personally to deplore, do not concur in my wish for the abolition of the punishment of death. Finally, the title of jury, impudently employed at our assizes, is but a pitiable abuse of terms: if the constituent assembly did not adopt the motion for the adoption of the English and American jury in all its purity, it was at least with the intention of improving it, whatever may have been said in this assembly with a singular ignorance of facts, men, and doctrines. All ulterior modifications, however, have been planned in a spirit of enmity to the institution itself.

"Our present diplomacy," he again observed, "is an absolute incongruity. In fact, gentlemen, the system, the agents, the language, all appear to me to be foreign to renovated France. She is subjected to doctrines she had overthrown, powers she has conquered, habits contracted in the train of her enemies, and obligations for which she has only, on her part, to blush. However, Europe, thirty years ago was summoned by us to liberty; and awed, it must be confessed, by our excesses and the abuse of our victories, has resumed, and will continue, in spite of recent misfortunes, that great march of

civilization, at the head of which France has her place assigned, and there nations already free, or aspiring to become so, will not seek her in vain.

"Gentlemen," said he, in the same speech, "the crimes and disasters which we all execrate and deplore, are no more to be set down to the account of the revolution, than the massacre of St. Bartholomew is to be laid to the charge of religion, or the eighteen thousand judicial murders of the Duke of Alba, to that of monarchy. The revolution was the emancipation and developement of the human faculties, and the restoration of nations. This is so true, that the friends of liberty have always been and still are, hated by the adversaries of the revolution, in proportion to the efforts they have made to prevent it being sullied by crimes and excesses.

"Yes, gentlemen, let the enemies of our cause endeavor to extract hypocritical arguments from our misfortunes, as they have long founded upon them unworthy hopes;—let them excuse or deny, as they please, the aristocratic re-actions through which they before designed to execute fearful reprisals! As in 1815 they endeavored to stifle, in this capital, the popular voice which denounced the massacres of the west, so also the outrages of the

past year found apologists even among the first personages of the state. For our parts, despising, as we have always done, in our patriotic hatred of crime, that weakness which would compound with her, by drawing a distinction of victims and of periods, we must assign all these atrocities to the unworthy, or furious passions which have produced them. But never, at any time, under any pretext, or from whatever quarter the imputations or apologies may come, will we submit to see perfidiously and voluntarily confounded the crimes of faction, the errors of a generation escaping from the old system with all the benefits of the revolution, the imprescriptible rights of human reason, and the pure intentions and incontestible principles of the invariable defenders of liberty, and the declared adversaries of all oppression."

In rendering homage to the French navy and our seamen, he observed that the truly French sentiments of the latter would have been applauded by the immortal crew of the *Vengeur;* he compared the expense of our department of the marine with that of the navy of the United States, " whose fleet," he added, " since its creation, and during two very severe wars against Great Britain, with

equal, and often with inferior force, never once failed to gain the advantage."

Speaking of the minister of war, "Have a care," said he, "that by dint of breaking and ruining officers, you do not make all the rest believe that the Coblentz party cannot reconcile itself to the recollection of that glory, for the destruction of which they so long prayed;—that regret is cherished for the time when regiments were formed by recruiters, and claims to office specified by genealogists, or that still more remote period when campaign plans were traced out in the apartments of the King's mistress. A French army must doubtless be kept in subordination; but you will never prevent its being intelligent and national."

Provoked by fresh expressions of regret at the destruction of the old system, Lafayette drew the following picture of it:—"Then disappeared that clerical corporation, which, while it exercised every description of influence, and refused to pay any share of public contribution, was incessantly increased. No part of its immense wealth was ever alienated; but all was distributed in its own class, in an inverse ratio to labour. The law was a party in the exaction of vows, too often compulsory, and

France was covered with monastic orders, devoted to foreign chiefs. The clergy levied at once the contributions of opulence and mendicity; and in its secular organization was so wholly devoted to worldly indolence, that the laboring ministers were but an insignificant portion of what was called the first order of the state.

"We saw the disappearance of that corporation of sovereign courts in which the power of judging was venal by law, and hereditary and noble in fact; and in which feodal judges were chosen and revocable by their lords; and in which the diversity of codes, and the jurisprudence of decrees made a cause be lost in one court, which would have been gained in another; in which every plaintiff, by purchasing the most insignificant place about court, could drag the adverse party from the furthest extreme of the kingdom to Paris;—in which all the grievances arising out of *esprit de corps* were multiplied by the dependence of a host of lawyers;—in which all rational ideas, all useful discoveries were formally proscribed—and which even in a just cause, could not resist the express command of the King except by a denial of justice to the public.

"We beheld the overthrow of that financial cor-

poration impoverishing France to the uttermost by fiscal farming. This monstrous institution exceeded in expenditure and profits the receipts of the royal treasury. Its vast code, which no where existed in a collected form, was an occult science which its agents alone had the power or means of interpreting, and which by constantly putting a price on perjury and domestic treachery, exercised on all unprotected men a despotism boundless and unrestrained. This is the way in which Malesherbes spoke of it to Louis XVI in the remonstrance of the Cour des Aides in 1775."

There was also seen the obliteration of those destructions of French provinces, conquered provinces, nominally foreign provinces, and provinces of estates or election. All these were surrounded by a double circle of excise officers and smugglers whose intestine warfare recruited the prisons, the galleys and the gibbet at the fancy of the agents of the farmers general. We saw the subversion of those other distinctions of property, noble and ignoble, presenting different degrees of feudal domination, vassalage and servitude. The parks and gardens of the rich man paid nothing, whilst the field and the person of the poor man were taxed in proportion to his industry; the socages

and the law of franc-fief incessantly reminded the citizens that their degradation was not only territorial but personal.

" Then was consecrated that constitutional equality which confines itself to founding on general utility, the distinctions laid down by the law. The privileged caste gradually lost the right of dispensing exclusion and contempt on the rest of their fellow citizens. No Frenchman was unqualified for public employment, because he was not noble; none were reckoned dishonored because they exercised useful professions;—a fatal prejudice, which debarred the majority of families from a share in the public prosperity, just in proportion as they supplied the means of increasing it.

" What then have we to regret? is it to be the system of taxation, imposed by the King in accordance with the fancy of a finance minister, a system I have seen changed twelve times in fourteen years, arbitrarily imposed on the provinces, and I may add arbitrarily upon individuals? For with the exception of some districts with estates and of the two assemblies called by M. Necker, which a well known piece of treachery* did not

* The communication to the members of parliament of a memorial to the King, confided by M. Necker to Monsieur, (Louis XVIII).

allow him time to extend to the other provinces, the power of the intendants was only modified in 1778.

" Is it the capitulation established in 1702, which was to have finished at the peace, but which was always prolonged? or the two twentieths ostensibly imposed upon the rich but levied on the poor? or the tax which in Auvergne was fixed at nine sous in the pound, and which was raised to fourteen, *principally in consequence of the number of privileged individuals which encreased daily by the trafic in offices?** or lastly, is it the laws which press so heavily on articles of consumption, laws simular to, but more odious than the *droits réunis* of Napoleon?

" Is it the criminal jurisprudence under which the accused could neither see his family, his friends, his counsel, nor a copy of the indictment? When delivered over to a magistrate who made it his only merit to extort confession, he was merely confronted with the witnesses who were previously interrogated in secret, and who could retract

* Report of the tax committee of the provincial assembly of Auvergne, drawn up by MM. the Marquis de la Querille, the Bishop of St. Flour, &c. December, 1787.

nothing without incurring the penalty of perjury. Condemned upon the deposition of a witness in an inferior tribunal, he was dragged to the Parliament Court, sometimes more than one hundred leagues from his dwelling place, and to the grand chamber if he were a gentleman. There, upon the same indictment and the report of a counsel, the *sellette* or stool for the prisoner being an insulting superfluity, he received sentence, obscured as it was by the vague forms in which the *facts resulting from the case* were set forth. This sentence might be aggravated at the option of the judges by the infliction of the torture, for at that time, only torture before the trial had been abolished. You know, gentlemen, the barbarous variety of punishments, thus in use from the cross and the wheel, to those execrable tortures of which I will spare you the description.

" Have we to regret the religious intolerance which doomed a great portion of the population to a state of legal concubinage, to bastardism and disinheritance;—or that legislative violation of all the laws of nature and morality, which Louis XIV established and which the illustrious prelate, Bossuet, styled *the work worthy of his reign, the most assured sign, as well as the finest enactment of*

*authority ?** The bishops in 1751 and 1752 demanded its execution, *by the judgment of the commandant or intendant without the form or figure of a trial.* Such was the legal doctrine from the period of the decree of the council of 1684, *which debarred all private persons from receiving into their houses any sick person of the protestant religion, under the pretext of charity,* down to the decision of the council of Louis XVI, when, in opposition to the advice of Turgot and Malesherbes, the oath to exterminate the heretics was taken at his coronation. The condition of the protestants was bettered by the edict of the King in 1780; I remember it the more distinctly, because in the preceding year I had the honor of seeing adopted in a committee, at which the second brother of the King presided, the first official admission of their civil rights; but even then this half-tolerance was considered a revolutionary innovation.

" Have we to regret the ecclesiastical and seignorial imports, which levied on the lowest results of labor, were a burthen threefold heavier upon the increase of the landowners than what was taken away in raw produce; are we to regret the

* Funeral oration of the Chancellor Tellier.

burdensome and humiliating feudal duties, whether they were collected in kind or replaced by a tributewhich indicated their origin? Are we to regret the laws, which bound the vassals to feudal services;—the laws of the chase;—the captainships, which delivered up the crops to the voracity of the game, and the labours of the field to the caprices and extortions of the guards;—or the penalties amounting to condemnation for life to the galleys, which were dispensed in a tribunal nominated by the captain, who pronounced judgment on the bare statement of the accuser? Have we to regret the *lettres de cachet* given blank to the ministers, the commandants and the intendants?—or the decrees of supersedies which absolved the courtiers from the payment of their debts; or the evocations of law suits; or the substitutions and customs by which children were sacrificed to a collateral, and whole families to an elder relative? Have we to regret the sinecures, the reversions, and all that multiplicity of abuses, and oppressions which find a place in written history, and even to this day in the memory of all our cotemporaries, foreign as well as national, who have directed any attention to the government of France?

"Frenchmen, such was the old government, the

destruction of which has secured for you advantages which are only as little to be perceived as the benefits of the air you breathe ;—a system whose re-establishment was the avowed object of the emigrants at Coblentz and of the coalition at Pilnitz, and whose spirit has never ceased to animate that government of the court more or less occult, in whose eyes ministers are as nothing, and who in 1814 said officially : " Let us enjoy the present, I will answer for the future*."

In the session of 1822 Lafayette spoke against the jurisprudence of the penal code : " Instead," said he, " of the unanimity required in England and the United States, instead of the five sixths fixed by the constituent assembly, a simple majority is now considered sufficient to constitute the magistrate charged with the application of the law, a party in the verdict, and thus making him a judge of fact as well as of law. This is the circstance which militates against the very essence of the institution of juries. Some honest statesmen impressed with the fallacy of human judgments, have urged the abolition of the punishment of death, and there has hardly been, these thirty

* Reply of the Count d'Artois to a deputation of the national guard.

years, a case of condemnation for political offences, in which the judges have not afterwards heartily wished, (whether owing to the bitterness of remorse, or the reaction of retaliations) heartily wished to recal at any price the life that had been taken. Yet we find persons still to compliment us in our possession of a penal code, the subtleties and severity of which must disturb the consciences of its administrators, while it menaces all parties in turn, and contains that system of confession, which was worthy the conception of Tiberius, which was revived by Louis XI and Cardinal Richelieu, and which is now more frequently resorted to in our tribunes, than it has ever been at any former period of our history.

"The counter-revolution," added he, "being master of all the powers of the state, all the institutions, and all the channels of influence, sustained as it is by the coalition of all the despots of Europe, all the aristocratic interests, every prejudice and every abuse, in a word, upheld by whatever is at variance with true social order, endeavors still to blind the people to the positive advantages they owe to the revolution. By an imprudent anticipation, the partizans of the old government have now begun to wound the dignity of the citizens,

and to shew before the time that hatred of equality which was ever their ruling passion.

But the counter-revolution successively attacks all guarantees, and it is well that the French people should be aware that after the destruction of those conservative guarantees, which you will not and cannot longer defend, it will be declared as it was at Pilnitz and Coblentz, that all the advantages gained over the old system by the national revolution of 1789 were illegal, transient and revocable usurpations."

In the session of 1823 Lafayette was one of those who denounced with patriotic indignation, the determination to declare war against the Spanish constitution; a determination which had been stigmatised as a calumny in the speech from the throne of the preceding year, but avowed in the speech of that year. When his friend Manuel was violently expelled from the Chamber of Deputies, Lafayette retired with sixty of his colleagues and signed the protest which he had unsuccessfully proposed to the chamber, and which openly declared that the public taxes having become illegal by the violation of the liberty of the chamber, their payment was not obligatory.

The freedom of Lafayette's declarations both

former and recent, the appeal he made in the chamber *to the patriotism and energy of the French people,* perhaps also the recollection of a remark made by the Archbishop of Sens in the King's council of the King in 1788; "That he, (Lafayette) was their most dangerous antagonist because his logic consisted in action;" all these circumstances joined to others less publicly known, furnished a pretence for directing against him weighty accusations. His enemies had already implicated him in some law proceedings, at least as a witness, and it was on one of those occasions that he protested against the title of *marquis* which the president of the tribunal had applied to him, declaring that that title was no longer his, after the decree of the constituent assembly of the 17th June, 1790.

But in 1823 a more positive accusation was brought against him, at the suit of the *procureur du roi,* Mangin, who pretended to have proof against Lafayette and who in the excess of his monarchical zeal uttered that famous exclamation: "Ah! were I but his judge*!"

* The special accusation here alluded to was not exactly correct. But it is true that, in the celebrated affair of Bedford, which miscarried by a mere chance, Lafayette was no stranger to the conspiracy. He and his son responding to an appeal made

Those of his colleagues who were likewise implicated, less deeply it is true, in the Mangin denunciation, demanded in the tribune justice against the calumny. It was on this occasion that M. Laffitte in stigmatizing the atrocious wish of the procureur-general applied to him the merited epithet of *purveyor to the guillotine*. Lafayette disdaining on his part, all denial of the fact, mounted the tribune merely to make the following remarkable observations: "In spite of my habitual indifference to party accusations and animosities, I still think myself bound to add a few words to what has fallen from my honorable friends. During the whole course of a life entirely devoted to the cause of liberty, I have constantly been an object of attack to the enemies of that cause, under whatever form, despotic, aristocratic, anarchic, they have endeavored to combat it. I do not complain then, because I observe some affectation in the use of the word *proved*, which the procureur-

to them by many patriots, and even by some corps of the army, incurred dangers from which good fortune alone saved them. It is but just, however to add that before taking this step, Lafayette had denounced in the tribune the violations of the charter, and frankly declared that in his opinion, those violations reduced us to a primitive independence as regarded our rights and duties.

general has employed against me. But I join my honorable friends in demanding a public enquiry, within the walls of the chamber, and in the face of the nation; there I and my adversaries to whatever rank they belong, may declare without reserve all that we have mutually had to reproach each other with, for the last thirty years."

Lafayette's adversaries of the highest rank recoiled before this challenge, and the accusation was no longer agitated.

By dint of intrigues and electoral frauds which have since been acknowledged, the Villelle ministry succeeded in preventing Lafayette's election to the chamber, denominated *septennial*. The circumstance was fortunate; for the interval of parliamentary repose permitted him to gratify the wish he had long entertained of revisiting America, that scene of his youthful glory, whither he was invited by the pressing solicitation of a people eager to declare him one of the founders of their independence.

His connection with the United States and his zeal to serve them never relaxed. "We ministers in Europe," said Jefferson in a recent speech, "placed the nail, and Lafayette drove it in." At the period of the revolution he received the con-

gratulations of his paternal friend Washington. At Mount Vernon the principal key of the Bastille conveyed thither by Lafayette, is kept in a glass case. The directory had occasion to acknowledge in consequence of an intercepted letter of the illustrious Hamilton, that even during his proscription, Lafayette endeavored to extenuate the errors of the French government and to assimilate the two countries.

Though in his letter addressed to Archenholz, from his prison at Olmutz he wrote; "America, that country dear to my heart, will behold me again with joy;" yet when President Jefferson pressed him to accept the provisional government of Louisiana, and when urgent invitations were addressed to him from all parts of the United-States, he was detained in Europe by the feeling which lately brought him back:—the hope of being useful to liberty and to his country.

"Your proposition," replied he to president Jefferson*, "offers all the advantages of dignity, wealth and security, and I do not feel less warmly than I have done these thirty years past, the desire of advancing with American liberty in its pro-

* Extract of a letter dated 16th vendemiaire, 8th october, 1804, published since the death of his illustrious friend.

gress over all the continent. But you, my dear friend, you also know and share my wishes for French and consequently for European liberty. In America the cause of mankind is gained and secured; nothing can arrest, change or sully its progress. Here all regard is as lost and without hope. But for me to pronounce that sentence, to proclaim it as it were by a final expatriation, would be a concession so contrary to my sanguine nature, that unless I were absolutely forced, I know not the land, however disadvantageous, and still less can I imagine the hope, however unpromising, which I could totally and irrevocably abandon. This is perhaps after all but a weakness of heart, but in spite of the usurpations of uncontrolled power, and in the event of its overthrow—amidst the dangers of jacobinism excited to rage, and the still greater dangers of a royal aristocracy, more absurd, though not less sanguinary, I do not dispair of obtaining modifications less unfavorable to the dignity and liberty of my countrymen. When I consider the prodigious influence of French doctrines upon the future destinies of the world, I think it will not be right in me, one of the promoters of that resolution, to admit the impossibility of beholding it, even in our time, re-es-

tablished on its true basis of a generous, a virtuous, in a word, an American liberty."

In February, 1824, the President of the United-States transmitted to General Lafayette an unanimous resolution of the two Chambers of Congress, expressing "the attachment of the whole nation, which ardently desired to see him again." A 74 gun-ship *the North Carolina* was directed to sail as soon as he should name the time of his visit, but Lafayette accompanied by his son and his secretary, embarked on board a packet boat, the *Cadmus*, and arrived in the bay of New York on the 25th of August.

I shall not here enumerate the honors, the fetes, the enthusiastic testimonials of affection, which from the salute on his arrival at Port Lafayette, to the farewell at Brandywine on his departure for Havre, were fairly showered upon him daily, nay hourly, during a journey of more than five thousand leagues and occupying fourteen months, for which space of time, he was continually moving through the twenty-four states of the Union. Received with honors at the boundaries of the states, the counties, the villages and the hamlets, conducted by the governors and the respective magistrates to the extremity of their

territory; formally introduced to the different legislative assemblies; publicly harangued by the constitutional authorities, the universities, the clergy, the bar, by all the learned bodies and the popular deputations expressly appointed to compliment the "guest of the nation." To their addresses, he delivered answers, each imbued with eloquence, talent and feeling. Wherever he went, he was greeted with triumphal arches, splendid banquets, magnificent balls, illuminations, public acclamations, the ringing of bells and the firing of guns; such were the circumstances which marked this triumph of little more than one year. What must have been the feelings of Lafayette throughout that triumphal journey, when he beheld a population of twelve millions rising to meet him with the unity of a single family; when he beheld his old companions in arms, who were sent for from distant parts, so that none were deprived by old age, wounds, or infirmity of the happiness of seeing him again—when, in fine, he received, after so much misrepresentation and calumny, the public and official approbation of a great nation, sanctioning in all its parts, the conduct pursued by this *pupil of the American school*, as he loved to style

himself, during the revolutionary storms of Europe? What delightful emotions must he have experienced on contemplating the numerous population, the prosperity, the industry, the practical liberty and the happiness of the American people! This was indeed a noble example to the world, and a striking justification of the principles and conduct of his whole life. What pleasurable sensations must he have felt, at beholding the beautiful towns, the various works of art, the numerous canals, the cultivated lands, the fine navy and the well appointed military establishments: — in finding those immense forests, which were scarcely known before his time, covered with flourishing cities, occupied by an industrious population, employed in manufactures and engaged in literary and scientific pursuits, or converted into luxuriant corn-fields! At every point of his route, he reviewed, in the character of a simple citizen, the different bodies of militia, that assembled to honor him. At his presence, local enmities and party distinctions merged in one common sentiment, and old friends, whom political differences had separated, again coalesced for the purpose of welcoming him to America. This journey gave a useful and salu-

tary impulse to the public spirit of the United States:—and when the number of the spontaneous and disinterested testimonials of affection, remembrance, and esteem he received, as well as the unanimity with which they were awarded are considered, it will be confessed that no parallel can be found in history to the glorious and peaceful triumph which Lafayette enjoyed. The details of this memorable visit are to be found in all the American journals and partly in the European newspapers and also in several works published in the United States. It has been celebrated by poets and orators; and some of the events, the arrival at New York, the ball given at that place to six thousand persons, the reception by Congress, the tomb of Washington for instance, have been described by Mr. Cooper with that ability and talent, for which he is remarkable. A small work was published in France on this subject and was soon followed by a more complete account in two volumes, by M. Levasseur. In this latter publication, the visit of Lafayette and his son to the tomb of their adopted father is described, an interesting account is given of the ceremony at which Lafayette assisted, of laying the foundation-stone of various monuments erect-

ed in memory of his companions in arms,—Greene, Kalb and Pulawski. Lafayette likewise laid the first stone of the edifice on Bunkershill and it was on this occasion that the eloquent Mr. Webster, in the presence of more than a hundred thousand spectators expressed the gratitude which that free nation felt for the veterans of the revolution, at the head of whom stood Lafayette, the only general of that period who was still living. On the same day Lafayette proposed the following toast at a dinner, which was attended by no less than four thousand persons:—"Bunkershill and "the sacred resistance to oppression which has "liberated the American hemisphere. At the "next jubilee, the toast will be 'Europe libe-"rated.'"

The speech delivered on the 18th of January by the president of the chamber of representatives, in the presence of that body, the senate and a numerous concourse of spectators, is too honorable to be omitted: Lafayette having been introduced with due solemnity and form by a deputation of twenty four members, was addressed by Mr. Clay in the following terms, with that eloquence and graceful dignity which distinguished him, but with deep and visible emotion:

"The chamber of representatives of the United-States, impelled by its own feelings and those of the nation, of which it is the interpreter, has imposed upon me the grateful duty of expressing their heartfelt congratulations at your recent arrival in this country; and I most willingly obey the wishes of the congress, by assuring you of the high satisfaction, which your presence upon the first theatre of your glory, occasioned among the members who compose that body. Few are now to be found who shared with you the campaigns of our revolutionary war; but impartial history, or faithful tradition have made us all acquainted with the dangers, the sufferings, and the sacrifices, to which you voluntarily submitted, and the signal services which you rendered, both in the new and the old world, to a people remote from Europe, almost unknown, and yet in their infancy. All feel and acknowledge the extent of the obligations, which you have imposed upon the nation. But whatever may be the importance of the relations, which have connected you, at all times, with our states, this is not the only cause of the respect and admiration, which this chamber feels for you. The constant firmness of your character, your unquenchable zeal in

favor of liberty, founded on legal order, throughout all the vicissitudes of a long and perilous life, are entitled to our highest admiration. During the convulsions, which have recently agitated Europe, whether in the midst or after the cessation of the political tempests, the people of the United-States have always seen you faithful to your principles, braving every danger, and raising your voice, so well known to them, in support of the friends of liberty. They have seen you the constant and fearless defender of freedom; ready again for its sake to lose the last drop of your blood, which you so nobly and so generously spilled in this country for the same cause.

" The vain wish has often been expressed that providence would allow a patriot to revisit his country after death, there to behold the changes, which time had produced. The American patriot of passed days would now see forests cultivated, cities founded, mountains levelled, canals opened, roads formed, and an immense progress effected in the arts, in the sciences, and the increase of population. General, your present visit, forms a happy accomplishment of this wish. You are here in the midst of posterity. On every side you cannot fail to be struck with the physical and

moral change, which has been effected since you last left us. This very city, which bears a name as dear to you as to ourselves has been recently raised out of the bosom of the forest, which covered its soil. But there is one point in which you will perceive no change, and that is our unshaken devotion to liberty, our deep and heartfelt gratitude for the friend, whom you have lost, the father of the country, for you, general, and your illustrious companions in the field of battle, and in the council chamber, and also for the numerous benefits which we enjoy, and even for the right which I now exercise in addressing you. This feeling, which at present is cherished by more than ten millions of men, will be transmitted unaltered to the remotest posterity, from age to age, through all the innumerable generations which are destined to people this vast continent."

Lafayette, after the delay of a few moments, rendered necessary by the general emotion in the assembly, and by the state of his own feelings, replied in an extemporaneous speech to the following effect:—

"President, and gentlemen of the chamber of re-

presentatives, since the people of the United-States and their honorable representatives in the congress have deigned to choose, in my person, an American veteran, to whom to give a testimony of their esteem for our common labors, and of their attachment to the principles for which we have had the honor of shedding our blood, I am happy and proud to share their extraordinary favors with my dear companions in war and in revolution. Nevertheless, it would be ungrateful, and somewhat uncandid in me not to acknowledge the particular share which you have accorded me in these marks of your favor, which I feel too strongly to be able suitably to express my gratitude.

"My obligations to the United-States, Sir, far surpass the services that I have been able to render them. They commenced at the period when I had the good fortune to be adopted by America as one of her young soldiers;—as a well-beloved son. For nearly half a century I have continued to receive constant proofs of American affection and confidence; and now, Sir, thanks to the invitation so prized by me, which I received from the congress, I find myself the object of

a series of the most affecting receptions, to enjoy one hour of which is more than a compensation for the labors and sufferings of a whole life.

"The approbation which the American people and their representatives have expressed of the conduct which I pursued throughout the vicissitudes of the revolution in Europe is the greatest recompense which it is possible for me to receive. I may indeed be confident, and hold my head erect, when you, Mr. President, have solemnly declared in their name, that on every occasion I have remained faithful to American principles of liberty, of equality, and of real social order, which, from my youth, I have advocated; and which, until my last breath, I shall deem it a sacred duty to promote.

"You have judiciously alluded to the peculiar advantage of my situation. I assure you that I am fully sensible of my good-fortune, in being permitted, after a long absence, to behold the immense progress which this country has made in the arts of civilization;—the admirable means of internal communication which it has established, and the surprising creations, of which this city, whose very name is a palladium, presents an example; in a word, to witness all the prosperity

of the United-States, which, while affording to the entire American continent a noble guarantee of the consummation of its independence, spreads throughout the four quarters of the globe the light of a superior political civilization.

" What surer pledge can there be of the perseverance of the nation in the love of liberty, than these very advantages, which are evidently the result of a virtuous resistance to oppression, and of institutions founded upon the rights of man and the republican principle of self-government?

" No, Mr. President, I am not among posterity; for in the children of my ancient companions and friends, I retrace the same public sentiments, and allow me to add the same sentiments towards one which I well knew their fathers entertained.

" Sir, I had occasion, forty years ago, to express before a committee of a congress of thirteen united states, the ardent wishes of an American heart.

" I now have the happiness to congratulate the representatives of the Union which has so greatly increased, on seeing their wishes realized far beyond all human hope; and on the prospect of progressive prosperity, to which no limit can be seen. Allow me, Mr. President, to add to the expression

of these sentiments, the tribute of my deep gratitude, of my zealous affection, and of my profound respect for this nation."

At New Orleans he had the pleasure of seeing an old French colony, which, in consequence of the excellence of its political institutions and its incorporation in the confederation of the United States, had in a very short space of time, tripled its population and greatly augmented all the sources of its prosperity; for instead of three ships, which used formerly to be the whole number that annually entered the port of that city, no less than three or four hundred now visited the place, within the same period; and the river Mississippi, which before Louisiana, became a member of the United States, had only one steam-boat, was now navigated by upwards of a hundred and sixty. During his stay at New Orleans, Lafayette received a deputation from the Spaniards, who had settled there, and a number of their fellow-countrymen, who were proscribed by Ferdinand VII. The deputation thus addressed him:—

"A few Spaniards approach you, general, with a quiet conscience; and they venture to address you, because they know themselves to be guilty of no crime. They are unfortunate, but if the sacrifice

of themselves would ensure their country's prosperity, they would willingly make an offering of their lives. In the field of battle they would still invoke you, general, and those like you, who do not attempt to stifle the spirit of the times, or stop the progress of knowledge and liberty by despotism, tyranny, and the inquisition. Accept, general, the sincere homage of our affection and admiration, and grant the unfortunate Spanish refugees, who have been driven from their country by the cruel scourge of tyranny, the consolation of enjoying your sympathy. This, if they should be fortunate enough to obtain will be their justification in the eyes of the world, and will create in their own breasts, the hope of a happy future for their country."

To this address Lafayette replied in the following manner:—

"In congratulating such among you as have the good fortune to be members of the great American confederation, I cannot avoid expressing my confident opinion that the cause of liberty must ultimately triumph in every quarter of the globe in spite of all hostile coalitions and deceitful intrigues. Already your beautiful language, the language of Padilla, has spread over an immense extent of this hemisphere, and become the language of independ-

ence and republicanism. Already has it been heard in the country of the illustrious and excellent Riego, expressing the eloquent and generous sentiments of patriotism; and notwithstanding the momentary success of an impious war, detested, I am happy to say, by the French people; notwithstanding the pernicious effect of a deceitful influence, of which I need not remind Spaniards, will in a short time spread its benignant light over that interesting portion of Europe,—then alone will the names of Riego, of his young and unfortunate wife, and of the many other victims to superstition and tyranny be appeased."

In a letter to Bolivar, informing him that the family of Washington had sent him a portrait of that illustrious patriot, Lafayette thus expresses himself:—

"What more can I say to the great citizen, whom South America has honored with the title—a title confirmed by both hemispheres,—of the liberator; and who, enjoying an influence equal to his disinterestedness, bears in his heart the love of liberty without qualification; and of republicanism without alloy. Still the recent public testimonies, which I have received of your favor and esteem, embolden me to offer you the personal congratula-

tions of a veteran in the common cause, who, now about to depart for another hemisphere, will carry with him a sincere desire for the glorious achievement of your labors."

" How shall I express," said Bolivar, in reply, " the value which my heart attaches to the declaration of affection and respect, so honorable to me? The family of Mountvernon have honored me beyond my hopes, for Washington's portrait, presented by the hands of Lafayette, is the highest reward which a man can desire. Washington was the fearless defender of social reform, and you, you are the citizen hero, the Colossus of liberty, who with one hand assisted America, and with the other, the old world."

This correspondence will, doubtless, recall to the recollection of the readers, the complaint made by a minister of the restoration at the tribune, that many natives of France, merchants as well as others, addressed their representations to an individual instead of to the French government, " believing," he added, " perhaps justly, that the influence which that individual enjoyed in the States of North and South America would be more advantageous to them than the interposition of their official protectors."

In order not to prolong this account, which has already extended to much length, I shall only give a few portions of the two speeches which Lafayette delivered, when, after the celebration of his birth-day, he left Washington on the 7th September, and embarked in the frigate Brandywine, so named in memory of the river, on the banks of which he was wounded forty-eight years ago, and took a solemn leave of the president of the United States, surrounded by the officers of the Union, and a numerous assembly.

" It would be superfluous," said the president to him, " to recapitulate the remarkable events of your youth, events which have indissolubly associated your name, your fortune, and your fame with the independence and history of the North American Union.

" The part which you acted at that honorable period, was of so remarkable a character, as to realize the most beautiful fictions of antiquity, and stand almost unequalled in the records of authentic history.

" You nobly preferred every danger and privation in defence of a sacred cause, to an inglorious ease, and to the unbounded seductions of rank, riches and youth in a court the most brilliant and

aimable in Europe. In this choice, you manifested not less wisdom than magnanimity, and the approbation of half a century; and the acclamations of innumerable voices, though wanting the power to express all the gratitude which the heart feels, is a sure proof of the justness of the selection.

"When the contest for liberty, in which you engaged as a simple volunteer, terminated in the complete triumph of her cause in this country of your adoption, you returned to your native soil to fulfil the duties of a philanthropist and a citizen. There you pursued the same career with undeviating constancy, and supported, in good fortune and in ill-fortune, the glorious cause, to which you had devoted the best years of your youth; the amelioration of the moral and political condition of man. . . .

". . . . During this period of forty years the generation, with whom you bore arms, has become nearly extinct. You are the only survivor of the general officers of the American army, who fought in that war. The wise men, who directed our councils, the warriors who fought by land and by sea, all are now sleeping with their fathers, except a few to whom Heaven has granted a greater number of days than falls to the common lot of

mankind. A second generation, and a third even, are rising to take their place; and their children's children have been taught, what indeed the constant enjoyment of liberty would point out as a duty; — they have been taught to join in the blessings which they pronounce to the memory of their fathers; the name of him, who came from distant climates to espouse their cause, resolved with them to conquer or die. . . . These are the sentiments of the whole country.

"A whole year has now elapsed since you placed your foot on our shores; and we can say, without exaggeration, that this year has been for the people of the Union, a year of fêtes and continual rejoicings occasioned by your presence. You have traversed the twenty-four states of this great confederation, and have been received by the men and women of the present generation, as a long absent father by his children. The rising generation, our future hope, far more numerous than the whole population for whom you fought, have vied with the few survivers of that period of trial in expressing joy at the sight of him, whom all acknowledge as their common benefactor. You have seen the past, the present and the future age, join in joyful acclamations at your approach.

The spontaneous cries of transport and delight, which thousands raised on your arrival in this land of liberty, have accompanied you at every step, and like the unceasing noise of the torrent, they are still heard in all parts of the Union. If ever, in after ages, a Frenchman should be asked to describe the character of his nation by that of some individual of the present epoch, his cheeks would glow with patriotic blood, and his eyes sparkle with virtuous fire, while he pronounced the name of *Lafayette*. We, too, and our children, in this life and after death, will claim you as one of us. You belong to us by that patriotic zeal which you displayed to deliver our fathers from the danger which threatened them; you belong to us by that affection, which for so many years you have felt for us; you belong to us, by those unutterable sentiments of gratitude, which we feel for your services, and which we consider as one of the most precious portions of our inheritance. Finally, you belong to us by those bonds of friendship, too strong for death to tear asunder, which have joined your name for ages to come, with the glorious name of Washington.

" Now that the painful moment has arrived, that separates you from us, we have some consolation

in thinking that wherever you may be placed, our country will always be the object of your affection, until your heart ceases to beat; and we feel a joyful presentiment that this is not the last visit which we shall have the pleasure of receiving from you. We feel delight in nourishing the hope that we shall shortly see you again. In the name of all the people of America I now, yielding to those feelings of attachment, which cause the heart of an entire nation, to beat like the heart of one man, bid you a sorrowful and affectionate farewell."

Lafayette, having commenced by expressing his thanks for the honor that had been done him thus continued:—"Having, under most critical circumstances, been adopted as a beloved son by the Union; having participated in the labors and perils of the noble struggle, which had for its object independence, liberty, and equality of rights; having taken a part in the foundation of the era of a new social order, now established throughout this hemisphere, and which must, for the dignity and happiness of the human species, successively spread over all the parts of the other hemisphere;—having received, at all periods of the revolution, and during the forty years which

have since elapsed, both from the American people and their representatives, abroad and at home, continual marks of confidence and kindness:—such have been my glory, encouragement, and support in my long and perilous career. But how shall I find language to acknowledge the flattering reception, and the marks of affection which have been shewn me at each step of my journey through the twenty-four states of America for the last twelve months? These things have filled my heart with inexpressible joy, for they have afforded the people an opportunity of expressing their approbation of the very great favors, bestowed upon me by different branches of the government in all the confederated states, and in the point of the Union.

"But a still higher gratification awaited me:—in the miracles of creation and improvement, which every where presented themselves to my eye;—in the comfort so well appreciated by the people;—in the rapid progress of their prosperity;—in their security, public as well as private;—in their habits of good order, the genuine consequence of liberty;—in that national good sense, the sovereign arbiter of all differences, I beheld with pride the result of those republican principles, for which we have fought, and the glorious proof, which must carry

conviction even to the most timid and prejudiced, of the superiority of popular institutions, founded on the true rights of man and guaranteeing portion by constitutional pledges, the privileges of each of the confederation, over the degrading system of aristocracy and despotism. This union between all the states was the dearest wish of our great and paternal Washington, and its continuance must be the most fervent prayer of every American patriot. It has already become the sacred pledge of the emancipation of the world, that emancipation in which I am happy to see the people of America interest themselves more and more, whilst they afford to Europe the encouraging example of the success of free institutions, in exchange for the evils which have been upon her by inheritance, and over which liberal and enlightened sentiments are daily gaining the mastery.*

"And now, gentlemen, how can I possibly express the feelings which have been excited in my mind by the valuable assurances of your esteem and friendship, by the allusions you have made to times past, to my brave companions in arms, and

* An allusion to the traffic in black slaves, forcibly imposed upon the English colonies, and now gradually being abolished throughout a great part of the Union.

to the vicissitudes of my life,—by the benedictions showered by many generations of the American people, upon the last days of a veteran soldier—by your affectionate remarks, on the sad moment of our separation, on my native land, which I can assure you, teems with attachment to the American people, and on the hope so naturally cherished by me of revisiting this country, which for half a century, has treated me as one of her sons! Avoiding all superfluous repetition, I will now merely confirm those sentiments, which I have had occasion to express in public daily, from the period, when your venerable predecessor, my old friend and brother in arms, transmitted me the honorable invitation of the congress, to this moment, when you, Sir, whose friendship for me is dated from our early youth, are about to consign me to the safeguard of the heroic national flag, which waves upon this fine vessel, whose very name is not the least of the many flattering compliments I have received in this country.

" May heaven shower down blessings on you, Sir, on the American people, upon every state of the Union, and on the whole federal government! accept this patriotic farewell of a heart full of gratitude, a heart which will be animated

by the same feelings till the last moment it shall continue to beat!"

This farewell scene was very affecting, as was also the separation on the shore and the parting good wishes expressed by the numerous troops who escorted him, as well as the population of Washington and the neighbouring villages.

Lafayette after a prosperous voyage, landed at Havre, where he was received with enthusiasm by the populace. The same reception awaited him at Rouen, in spite of the interference of the authorities and a charge of the gendarmerie. He was received with great affection by his neighbours at La Grange, his country retreat in which he lives surrounded by his family and enjoying his recollections of the United-States. Being invited to the funeral of Manuel, he delivered a discourse over his tomb. On the decease of the deputy for Meaux, in the septennial chamber, Lafayette was elected in his stead, but the dissolution of the chamber, rendered a new election necessary, and in this he was successful. During the session of 1828, he delivered many remarkable speeches. In a debate on the budget on the 23rd of June, he said, " .... While nations are advancing, governments are retrograding..... A

number of offices branching out from official departments themselves factitious;—situations created for persons to fill them, and the latter appointed by patronage;—the sections of France sacrificed to a system of centralization of which the metropolis, splendid in so many respects, presents at the same time the deplorable contrasts, which our honorable colleague, M. Charles Dupin, lately pointed out to you;—our academies, our learned societies, and lastly the polytechnic school, diffusing their light upon a population which, at the same time, as has just been observed, is denied the means of learning to read, (and the question is still agitated, whether it is proper that the people should be taught to read);—in fine, an inconceivable abundance of generals, staff-officers, privileged bodies, and diplomatic bodies, few soldiers, and a nation heretofore armed throughout, and long victorious over Europe, now disorganized and disarmed and as if it were a conquered land:—think you, gentlemen, that a few trifling amendments in committees, or a few animadversions from the tribune, will suffice to reform a state of society, which may be styled the world of constitutional order turned upside down! These observations are not made, gentlemen, in any bitterness of feeling; they are

the result of consciencious conviction in me individually, and they concern those who, in taking upon themselves to conduct the affairs of a great people, should at least endeavor to persuade that people that they could not manage them better themselves.... Every debt is sacred: some are in suspense. For instance, whilst the European powers were amply indemnified for their claims, a hostile demonstration on the part of the United-States, or merely the making common cause with the others in their demands, would have sufficed to procure the payment of them. The claims of the latter are not however yet liquidated, in consequence of the American republic having neglected to inscribe herself among the enemies of France, which were then really in France, whatever may have been sometimes otherwise said in the tribune."*

He then went on to express his regret that we had not, from the first, adopted the arrangements of the civil list of England. He repeated his wish for the abolition of the punishment of death, "which," said he, "the fallacy of human judgment renders

* An allusion to the phrase, recently repeated by a minister, that France was where the King was.

so frightful, and which ought especially to excite horror in the present generation, amidst whom party fury has inflicted such irreparable wounds." .... He also recommended the abolition of the punishment of the branding-iron—a practice condemned on all hands. . . . . .

" One of my honorable friends," said he, " has alluded to the unpaid magistracy in England. I envy not our neighbours on this account, nor do I believe that great landed proprietors are the fittest persons to pronounce judgment upon the petty offences which are committed around them. I however coincide, with those who wish for the renewal of the temporary election of the justices of the peace.

" I am pleased to find that in the late discussion on the subject of the jury, a promise was made to consider next session of the application of that institution to all offences of the press."

Recurring to what he had said in 1819, he observed: " There would be an absolute saving if the heads of ministerial departments would rigidly insist on their business being done, and well done, and would propose such an allowance of salary as may be necessary for the comfort of the

persons employed; provided that these departments were freed from all parasite service, and young men were brought up to a more productive kind of industry, than that of place-hunting, which operates as a check upon all real industry, and corrupts the independence of a numerous class of citizens."

He found the items larger than those of the English budget. "And yet," said he, "the English have not a *cheap government*, to use an expression for which I have often been reproached, and which I am by no means willing to retract. The question to be decided is, whether the government is to crawl on in the tract of old diplomatic traditions, or whether, emancipated from foreign influence and reminiscences, we are to assume our proper place at the head of European civilization; —a place which I conceive, has always been vacant, in spite of appearances, contradictory to facts,—and a place to which no foreign nation has now any claim. From that high position, France can and ought to resist influences which do not concern her. For my part, I should have waited for more minute explanations and reports, before I assented to the late vote of eighty millions; but no one can approve more than I do, the measures

necessary to ensure the liberty and independence of Greece, to enable her by pecuniary aid to defend herself, to form a barrier against the ambition of their powers, to stop the traffic in the unfortunate victims, and to rescue from slavery those whom our interference did not guarantee from that calamity. In all this I foresee advantage to our commercial relations, which, in spite of narrow prejudices, will always gain by the extension of the information, happiness, and liberty of nations.

. . . . . .

"I shall say nothing of our unfortunate and culpable expedition to Spain, nor of the severe lessons which despotism, congreganism, and aristocracy have received in the Peninsula, whose beautiful provinces, are I trust, destined to a happy change of fate; but I may be permitted to direct your attention to the enormous error committed with reference to the new American States. By what unaccountable blindness, gentlemen, by what complaisance in return for insult, ingratitude, and bankruptcy, do we persist in refusing to recognize the independence of those states?—The British government, under the direction of an illustrious minister, hesitated, I know, on this question; but as soon as it perceived the immense

advantage which the United-States would derive from the priority of that recognition, and an official and opportune declaration of sympathy and protection, it hastened to take a share in the honor and profit to be derived from these new connections.

. . . . . .

"Amidst the attacks of pretended defenders of the altar, I am sorry to observe, that fanaticism which represents, as hostile to the rights and sentiments of nations, the christianity of which social equality was the primitive basis; thus provoking a sort of reprisal of animadversion against opinions and practices, which in themselves have nothing in common with worldly ambition. If I seek a solution of this inextricable combination of the duties of the priest, speaking both in the name of Heaven, and as the paid officer of the state, I shall find it, at least in my opinion, only in a country where religious sentiment is more general than in France, where the ministers of the Gospel receive more respect, where all sects live in peace, where their rites and ceremonies inspire no alarm, but where they are total strangers to the civil government, and where religious societies, freely formed, have ministers of their own choice.

"National education, gentlemen, and above all, elementary education, that great spring of public intelligence, moral conduct, and popular tranquillity, is now the principal want of the French people, as it is the principal debt government owes to them. You know, gentlemen, how that debt is acquitted. Systems of public instruction have hitherto been patronized in an inverse ratio to their merit. Neither your pitiable fifty thousand francs, nor even five hundred thousand francs will suffice to fiulfil that great social duty. For the support of a good and honest system of public education, it appears to me that five millions would be the most praise-worthy item in the budget.

"Many statesmen seem to have forgotten, some perhaps never knew, that by the law of the 3rd brumaire, year IV, France possessed the best system of public education that ever existed in any country. It was unsuited to the power which abolished in the institute, the class of moral and political sciences. Napoleon created the University, whose monopoly and regulations were revolting to the friends of liberty and to family sentiments; and which afterwards owed to the invasion of jesuitism, another species of privilege,—the advan-

tage of passing for a liberal institution. To give general satisfaction it is necessary to present next session a system of public education, by which all the national duties of instruction shall be completely fulfilled, and by which personal liberty will be respected. But every plan of education, particularly in its elementary parts, would require the concurrence of just civil administration.

" Why, gentlemen, in spite of so many promises, have we preserved for fourteen years, the imperial frame work of the internal administration of France? Those factitious municipalities, those preposterous councils, those despotic and vexatious prefectures and sub-prefectures, whose privileges and salaries have been successively augmented? When shall we see each section of the country have an administration for its own affairs, and keep within its own territory that portion of taxes, which it is afterwards necessary to send back to it? Is this an idea unknown in France? The constituent assembly, whatever has been said to the contrary in this tribune, did not confine itself to proclaiming salutary truths: it had organized an administrative system chosen by the citizens, and which was not abolished until the Consulate and the Empire. Where is the great difficulty of all this? But when in 1815 in a

fit of reluctant liberalism, Napoleon decreed the restoration of municipalities according to the law of 1791, the elections were effected with remarkable promptitude and moderation. Indeed there could be no embarrassment, unless the government, instead of adopting the plain results of eternal truth and contemporary reason had thought itself obliged to combine that union of principle and exception, right and privilege, which would have impeded and defeated the best intentions."

Lafayette recommended the re-organization of the national guards, and quoted the ordinance of 9th of March, 1815, wherein it is said that a national guard consisting of three millions of fund-holders, land owners and manufacturers, constitutes a local force universally diffused.

"From this formidable mass," he said, "which so many interests attach to the soil, may be obtained volunteer corps to form moveable columns. . . . . Thus the nation will every where fight with the army, either in line or as an auxiliary, and will prove that a great people cannot, against their will, be forced to resume a yoke which they have once shaken off. . . . . The glory of the French navy has resounded every where. The name of Navarino has been pronounced

in the same accent of praise on the throne, in the chambers and by the nation at large: of this eulogy at least the brave Admiral Rigny never need fear a repeal. The infamous traffic in slaves has been checked, but not put down. Full of confidence in the sentiments of the Minister of the Marine on these important questions, I submit to him the idea of assimilating the slave trade and piracy, as it is by the law of the United States, which has been adopted by England. As to the system of colonies gentlemen, there is too much to be said on that subject for me to express my opinion briefly. I shall merely observe, that the ancient system of colonization appears to me preferable to that of modern times. . . . . ."

In the session of 1829, some deputies of the right side having used some disrespectful language in reference to the Spanish constitutionalists, and afterwards accused the plenipotentiaries of Haguenau of having solicited a foreign sovereign from the allied powers, M. Benjamin Constant replied to this last reproach and requested that his colleague would also explain himself on the subject. Lafayette spoke as follows:

" Gentlemen, I seize the opportunity which now presents itself to give a formal contradiction to the

assertion I have just heard, and upon which I am happy to explain myself in this tribune.

"No, gentlemen, I never appealed for the interference of foreigners, to decide the fate of my country; and I should be the more offended at such an accusation, if I did not believe that the party accusing me, from old habit, regards this sin as a very venial one.

"When, after an unfortunate experience of eight months, I saw foreign troops ready to invade my country, I thought it necessary, for the first time since the title of Emperor, or even Consul for life existed, to unite my efforts to those of my countrymen in repelling the invasion of foreigners, and I never considered who were in their ranks.

"When, after having had the honor of being elected a member of the chamber of representatives, I was appointed, with my honorable colleagues to the mission of Haguenau, I regretted this, I confess, because I conceived that my presence here would be more useful. Nevertheless, I yielded to the wish expressed by my fellow-citizens and colleagues. I went on that embassy, but I solicited neither foreign interference, nor a foreign prince; and truly, I should have been somewhat

embarrassed to have selected one. I wished that France should have time to adopt, as I conceived she had a right to do, a constitution of her own choice. Such, gentlemen, was my conduct.

"I will avail myself of this opportunity to say a few words on an affair which is likewise to me almost personal. For a long time past, the Cortes and the Spanish patriots have been insulted in this tribune. I think it time that the friends of the constitutional liberty of Spain should protest against this bad practice.

"I shall not be very prolix either in drawing comparisons or stating facts. I do not love to stir up these questions, and to provoke angry discussions. I shall merely observe that the Cortes, and the patriots who have been so much abused, defended the liberty and independence of their country, and even the crown of Ferdinand VII, at the time when that same King Ferdinand, was worshipping St. Napoleon at Valençay, congratulating the Emperor on the conquest of Madrid, and requesting to take the oath of fidelity to King Joseph."

In a sitting of the 6th of June, 1829, the order of the day having been called for, on a petition

against the double vote, Lafayette replied in the following speech:

"Gentlemen, if I were required to give my personal opinion, I should say that all tax payers ought to participate, either directly, or through their representatives, in the votes for public taxes, and that there is no exception to this rule, save for those who are disqualified by an evident deficiency of independence or discernment. But we are here, in the circle which the charter has traced out for us, and already, out of a hundred Frenchmen of an age to vote, eighty-nine are excluded from the exercise of that privilege. Now the elective chamber is only the third of the legislative power, a fact which will, perhaps, console the honorable deputy who spoke last, and who expressed fear lest popular passion should rise against social order.

"However, gentlemen, the elective qualification has been fixed by the charter at the payment of 300 francs of direct taxes, and I do not think it is allowable to violate this regulation by the privilege of a double vote in favor of the most highly taxed fourth of the electors.

"Call to mind, gentlemen, what passed some time ago in this chamber. One of your commit-

tees made a favorable report of a petition tending to lower the age of qualifications; that is to say, to do what the author of the charter himself did, when, on his second return, he said, 'he intended to repair the errors of the first restoration.' Well, gentlemen, such was then your ardent and scrupulous love for the charter, that I beheld almost all my colleagues rise eagerly for the order of the day, declaring that the legislative faculties of French intelligence and energy could only be developed in a middle age of from 57 to 58; and yet the question then was only to restore a few citizens to the exercise of a natural and consequently imprescriptible right, whilst, in the question of the double vote, it has been necessary to violate an acquired right, fully enjoyed and solemnly recognised by the charter.

"How has this anomaly of double votes been introduced, and by what arguments? You know, gentlemen. A deplorable catastrophe had united all parties in one common feeling of sorrow; when some men conceived the idea of turning this misfortune, this individual crime, to the advantage of the aristocracy and the government. I should not have alluded to the intrigues, the violence, and, to use the expression of the honorable deputy who

spoke last, the scandals of that melancholy legislative period, if he had not spoken of them himself. I will not enquire how it happened that the double vote obtained the majority of a few voices. I shall merely refer to those arguments which may still have some weight in this chamber, since they have been recently revived.

" We must, it has been said, support persons of large property, (that is to say, support the strongest,) because it is alleged they are most interested in good legislation. In the first place, gentlemen, I deny the principle. It is in fact, in an inverse ratio to its extent, that property is interested in good government. Indeed, the land owner with a revenue of one hundred francs, reduced to fifty thousand, is less to be pitied than one of one thousand francs who might be reduced to five hundred, and still less than the small proprietor, whom bad measures of government might reduce to the condition of a serf. I say nothing of the property of our persons, though none of us, I presume, are so humble as not to value it a little above zero.

" But why is there now any question of property, when it is required that the deputies should pay 1000 francs and the electors 300 francs of direct taxation, making their incomes above the

average of landed property in France? No, gentlemen, it is in favor of privilege that privilege has been created. It is for an opinion, a party, perhaps in ulterior views; and this is so true, that we find every measure since proposed smells, if I may so express myself, of the double vote; especially the two laws municipal and departmental which were withdrawn as soon as the amendments of your committee gave cause to apprehend results less in unison with the spirit of the double vote.

"An outcry was then raised, as there has since been and I see that it has made an impression upon the honorable gentleman who spoke before me, a cry was then raised about democracy, republican ideas, and the sovereignty of the people. Ah! gentlemen, place some little reliance upon one of your colleagues whose habits of more than half a century, and whose private opinions have made him well acquainted with these principles and sentiments. There is not a word about them either in the charter or in any thing proposed under its auspices.

"May it not be imagined that the enemies of every species of liberty hoped that the majority of the hundred thousand principal landed proprie-

tors of France had become indifferent to liberty and to the institutions by which it was guaranteed; but that perceiving their error they seized, before the arrival of the third series of deputies, the first pretext for getting from the fourth part of the electors most highly rated what they could not obtain from the whole body.

" An opinion was then advanced which the honorable gentleman who has just sat down has reiterated. The charter, it was said, has distinctly pointed out those Frenchmen who must not elect, but with respect to those whose qualification it recognizes, any arrangement may be made which may be thought necessary: the charter does not interfere with this point.

" A fine part truly, gentlemen, would the charter be made to play in our electoral system. It would be an instrument of proscription towards those whom it excludes, and would not be an instrument of protection towards those whom it admits! Gentlemen, it is quite bad enough, I think, for a constitution adopted by the entire nation, or for a charter emanating from the royal will, to restrain within certain limits the exercise of natural and social rights; but when those limits are once fixed, can it be said that the authorities instituted by that consti-

tution or that charter shall be able at will to contract still further those limits by establishing for instance categories, privileges, and degrees of election? Such acts would indeed be, to use the words of the honorable gentleman, the overthrow of social order, and might be justly called senseless theories, an expression which the minister of the interior has endeavored to explain by applying it to the measures of the constituent assembly, that is to say gentlemen, to the voices which have proclaimed so many truths, re-established so many rights, abolished so many wrongs, abuses, and barbarisms,—to those theories which, after passing through the three great vicissitudes of jacobinism, the empire, and the restoration are still powerful and are the cause of whatever political, civil and religious liberty our charter and our laws give us.

" It would not be difficult, gentlemen, to abolish this plan of the double vote. Adopt the amendment proposed by our late excellent and much lamented colleague Camille Jordan, which consisted in the division of the old departmental colleges into colleges of administrative arrondissements, a division more agreeable to the country and to the electors than the present division. It would require very little calculation to introduce

into the chamber the same number of deputies as at present. And who would oppose this proposition, gentlemen? Would it be the nation? But in our social edifice, based upon its summit, when there escape from the summit some fractions of power which the aristocracy seize on their passage, is it not for the national interest to make the aristocracy approximate more nearly to the population? And besides, is not the national opinion with respect to the double vote well known?

"Would it be the electors? Why truly to three fourths of the electors the double vote is not only an injustice, it is an insult and you know it has also decided enemies.

"Would it be the chambers? We all know that the chamber of peers, hereditary legislators, and judges, are satisfied with the privileges which they themselves enjoy and have neither the desire nor the interest to create more anomalies elsewhere. With respect to the chamber of deputies, gentlemen, its members are already obliged to pay a thousand francs in contributions and to be of the age of forty. No less than ninety nine Frenchmen out of a hundred of the age to elect, are already excluded from being elected. Would it be policy

still further to disfranchise three fourths of the hundred of the right of election? Ah! gentlemen, if any one of my colleagues can have any such idea, I can tell him that he neither does justice to his own merit nor to the judgment of his fellow citizens.

"Would it be then the government? Gentlemen, this brings me to my last and best argument. In the situation in which we stand, both as regards us at home and abroad, it behoves the King's government to show that there exists no distrust between the people and the throne; and what better means can there be of effecting this object than by abolishing an order of things, the continuation of which would only lead to the conviction that entire and complete confidence can only be placed in twenty thousand electors out of a population of thirty two millions of souls.

"For these reasons, gentlemen, I vote against the order of the day, and for the decision to which your committee has come."

In the sitting of the 9th of July, the question under the consideration of the chamber being the supplimentary vote of credit, Lafayette expressed his opinion in the following words:—

"I leave to those who shall follow me in debate

the task of entering into details for which they are better fitted than myself by their deep study and local experience. Besides, gentlemen, my system of diplomacy might appear to you too simple. In the great contest of the East, all that I can see for France to obtain, is the importance of our intermediate power.—In what is called the balance of Europe, I can only see two parties: the oppressors, and the oppressed—In the demarkation of states, I can only see their natural limits—In the well being of the people, I see nothing but the advantage of all—And in French politics, nothing but an independent and liberal part. You are acquainted, gentlemen, with that vast and powerful league which would enslave, and brutalize the whole race—it devastates the Peninsula, oppresses Italy, and disturbs all other states—Its metropolis is Vienna, and in spite of all other pretensions Don Miguel is its ideal type.

" England has boasted of having raised up another flame sometimes extinct, and at other times only throwing forth false lights. Appeal to Italy, to Spain, and to Portugal for the truth of this statement. It is for France, gentlemen, possessing more sympathy with the new civilisation, whose duty it is to place herself at the head of this

civilisation. This will be her glory, this her interest. This too should be her ambition. This also will secure to her government dignity and permanency. But to enable her to perform this noble part, it will be necessary for her government no longer to fear either the representation, nor the arming of the nation; and then renouncing old relations, it might say to foreign powers, "it is to the French people after God that I am indebted for being placed above your influence, and out of the reach of your speculations."

"I will confine myself, gentlemen, to alluding generally to some of the countries, to whose assistance we were invited even by our interest—some of my honorable friends have spoken severely of the expedition to the Morea, they even think that we should obtain no sort of thanks for it. Gentlemen, I have so ardently desired some interference—a French interference in favor of Greece, that I cannot join in their censures. And to show how much generosity there was in our assistance, not to speak of Russia whose motives are clear, it will be sufficient to read the speeches from the throne delivered by Charles X and George IV, in the first of which the battle of Navarino is called *glorious*, and the latter *untoward*. Then

the motives of the two nations in assisting the Greeks will be no more confounded together than the cannonade of Terceira with the hospitality at Brest. The last protocol of London, however has checked my joy, and destroyed my hopes. Gentlemen, why have the Greeks taken arms—suffered so many evils, and lost so much blood? To free themselves from the tribute they paid to the Turks—to re-establish their antient country—to govern it by themselves, and according to their own manners. Well, gentlemen, this protocol imposes the odious tribute. The greatest part of Greece is left out of Greece, and for the government of the little that remains a foreign prince is to be searched for, some Hospidar Metis of the east and west, in whom the Greeks will only behold a vassal of the Porte, and another master to whom they must pay tribute. Gentlemen, this may suit Russia, who already dreams of new subjects in that quarter—it may suit England, who has always feared rivals in the coasting trade; but France whose interest it is to see Greece a powerful and friendly nation—a barrier both against the warlike and mercantile ambition of other powers. . . . . this is the point upon which we want explanation.

"The governments of Italy are under the influence of Austria. Italy free will be our friend. Spain whose distributive justice consists in murdering by turns patriots and carlists will never be our true ally until she becomes constitutional. With respect to Portugal, it is in vain that the English government has shown a desire to prop up the pretended sovereignty of the Miguelite Cortes, by institutions which a British Ambassador (be it observed by the way) brought from Brazil. Gentlemen, the partisans of the national principle will not accept this concession. There can be no legality, when there is nothing but a tyrannical violation of natural and social rights, besides do not we see how the pretended Cortes are composed —how the deputies whom Don Miguel has not chosen are excluded? Let us hope, gentlemen, that public indignation, and the insane attacks upon the flags of every nation will shortly put an end to this usurpation; and that in the mean time France will loudly protest against the frightful expedient which would deliver over a young and innocent victim to the brutality of Don Miguel.

"I will not deny, gentlemen, that there have been disorders in South America and Mexico, and that they still continue there. These disor-

ders have however been exaggerated: I attribute them principally to two causes: first, the threats of Spain which, though powerless, necessitate the permanence of armies disproportioned to the country, and cause disputes between their chiefs; and secondly, European intrigues, which have for their object the introduction of old institutions into new states. Remove these two causes and the tranquillity of commerce will return. The minister of commerce observed the other day, that diplomatic relations had nothing in common with our commercial interests in that country. Since then I have received a Mexican journal of the 19th of March which contains the report of a proposition made in the chamber of representatives having for its object, to double the duties imposed upon goods coming from countries which have not recognised its independence.

"It is time," continued Lafayette, "that the government should yield to the unanimous demands of the French merchants. One of my honorable friends will address you on the subject of Algiers, of which he knows more than I do; I will only inform you of an attack upon the national honor, much more serious than the blow of the Dey's fly flap.

" I will not now treat in a general manner the great question of the delivering up of aliens and the right which a constitutional government arrogates to itself of thus annihilating in consequence of treaties, formed without the concurrence of the chambers, the most noble prerogative of the French soil. But the delivery up of aliens for political reasons has been unanimously condemned at all times and in all countries, and I have been informed by able lawyers that Galotti could not have been given up without the violation of our laws.

" But yet I am ready to admit that, on the part of the French agents, it was only an error and act of precipitation; and they may be supposed to have repented of it afterwards. There must, however, have been crime, deception and outrage against the honor of France somewhere. We have heard of robberies and of party excesses; of these I know nothing, but you know very well that they are not what are called highway robberies.

" We have heard something of judicial sentences. Are you ignorant of what may be the nature of judicial sentences in absolute governments? If, for example, Don Miguel—fortunately he is an

usurper, but for the sake of argument we will suppose him a legitimate prince,—if Don Miguel should come to you with a sentence in his hand, against some respectable Portuguese who had taken refuge in this country and say: 'This was the man, who in the King's palace, assassinated my father's best friend, the Marquis of Loulé.*' —would you give any credit to Don Miguel and his judges? not however that I would compare Francis I with him. But how can I think that that Neapolitan prince is liberal when he still keeps in exile the friends who took part in his patriotic efforts for the delivery of his country—those friends whom he himself prompted to insurrection? With respect to his ambassador in France, gentlemen, I think that the ministers before they so simply gave him their confidence should have enquired whether there was not some identity between him and one of the members of the

* It is a well known fact that the Marquis of Loulé, the friend of John II was drawn into a snare by Don Miguel who murdered him with his own hand. This crime was committed in a part of the palace situated at a distance from the royal apartments. When the unfortunate John II heard of the marquis's death which was represented to be owing to an attack of apoplexy, he exclaimed, that Don Miguel must have murdered him.

junta of 1799, that atrocious instrument of foreign vengeance which inundated Naples with so much illustrious blood.*

" In a word, gentlemen, there has been an attack upon French honor, and it is necessary that justice should be done. It is necessary that Galotti's restoration should be demanded—should be insisted upon.

" Let this be done with determination and let him be restored to the soil of France. The national honor must somehow or other obtain reparation."

I think it right, to give here a translation of Lafayette's speech at the American dinner, given in the year 1829, in commemoration of the 4th of July.

" Gentlemen," said he, " in this numerous meeting assembled for the purpose of celebrating our great anniversary of the 4th July, I feel a delightful gratification in breathing, as it were, the air of America. I am the more sensible of your complimentary toast, and of the flattering sentiments

* Prince of Castelcicala was no other than the notorious Fabricio Ruffo whom, immediately after the revolution, Lafayette proposed should be sent home; but he still remained at his post.

by which it was accompanied, inasmuch as you have been pleased, to associate my name with those principles and institutions for which my comrades of the revolution, and myself, with the illustrious and much beloved Washington at our head, have had the honor of fighting and of spilling our blood. These institutions, gentlemen, while they have secured the liberty and the independence of the United States, have commenced the American era of a new political civilization, which is destined ultimately, to extend throughout the whole world, and which is founded, as has just been observed, upon the principle of the natural rights of man. I am proud to add, that the first declaration of these rights, on this side of the Atlantic, bears the indelible stamp of its American origin.

" Habituated, as you have been from your infancy, to love and respect these institutions, I am persuaded that you have become better acquainted with their value, since you have been afforded an opportunity of comparing them with those of other countries.

" Thus, while all generous minds, feel delight in seeing amelioration take place in any part of the world; whilst, for instance, we have received with acclamations, the news of the triumph lately ob-

tained in Great Britain over religious intolerance, the citizens of the United States have the pleasure of reflecting, that these great advantages, and distinguished victories, have been in principle and practice enjoyed by them, for no less a period than half a century. This thought, gentlemen, ought to perpetuate your devotion to institutions, which cannot be better guaranteed, than by your perseverance in the system, and the principles of federative union.

" Let us hope that the example of the combination of so many benefits which have received the approval of long experience, will not be lost upon the republics, recently founded in the remaining portion of the American hemisphere, and that in the consolidation of their constitutional edifices, let us hope, that they will be upon their guard against European suggestions, and the admission of exotic materials.

" I should like, gentlemen, to give you the name of a distinguished patriot, and most respectable minister, my personal friend,* whose approaching departure causes us much regret; but I must not en-

* Mr. Brown the American minister, who was about to leave France at this time.

croach on the prerogative of our president, and I will therefore give you a farmer's toast: ' to national legitimacy; it extirpates the weeds of privilege, and fosters the roots of natural and social rights.' "

At the end of the session and after fourteen years' absence, Lafayette visited Chavaniac, in the old province of Auvergne, his birth place and the property of his son. A part of his family assembled to meet him, for the purpose of accompanying him to see his grand-daughter, Madame Adolphe Périer, in the department of Isère. Being invited to a public entertainment at Clermont, he made a speech in which he drew a very judicious comparison between the period when the Gauls under Vercingentoric, made their last resistance to the Romans, and the time when the army of the Loire, formed there, their last entrenchment.

At Issoire, Bridade, Paul Laquet, Langeac, and Chavaniac, the people came out to meet him, and he was received in like manner at Puy, where the new deputy M. Bertrand, addressed him at the head of the inhabitants of that town.

While the citizens of Puy, were thus welcoming him, and while the inhabitants of Ardèche, Isère, and Lyons were making similar preparations to honor him, the news of the creation of the ministry

of the 8th of August, and of the projects which it announced, came like a clap of thunder upon them.

From that moment, the preparations made for the reception of a simple citizen assumed a particular character, the influence of which, upon the plots which were hatched against Lafayette was evident and universally recognised.

In his speech at the banquet of Puy, Lafayette expressed his gratitude for the favour which he had received from the citizens, and especially from the departmental administration, for having formerly refused (as we have elsewhere said) to obey an order of the ministry formed after the 10th of August, enjoining them to send Madame Lafayette to Paris during the massacres of September.

Alluding to the Chamber of Deputies, Lafayette pronounced these prophetic words, which seem almost like a prediction of the address of the 221. . . . . .

"It has been a reproach," said he, "to this Chamber, that they have shown some tardiness in effecting liberal improvements, but as soon as it shall discover a plot against public liberty it will

recover, and the nation also will recover sufficient energy to crush it."

The inhabitants and the principal patriots of Amconay, of the Cote Saint-André, of Rives, &c. attended Lafayette to the frontiers of the departments of the Ardeché and Isere, where he was received in triumph; he likewise made his entrance into Grenoble, in the midst of an immense multitude which had assembled to meet him. The following is his reply to an eloquent speech of M. Mallein, who made an address to him in the name of that patriotic city:—

"It is with the deepest emotion that I enter the illustrious town of Grenoble, where the first signal of French liberty was given—where the first attack upon privilege was made, and where the last national victory against foreign invasion was obtained. I leave you to judge, sir, of the value which I attach to the affectionate attention which I have received here, and to the approbation which you have been good enough to bestow upon my political conduct, in the name of the citizens of Grenoble.

"You have recalled various periods of the revolution; among their number there is none

which is not glorious for the town of Grenoble; none in which she has not shown her love of liberty, her hatred of anarchy, and her ardent and sincere patriotism.

"Vizille, which you have named, was venerated by me as the cradle of the liberty of Dauphiney, of the liberty of France, and consequently of the liberty of Europe. After a lapse of forty years I feel much pleasure in finding myself attached to it by the dearest affections, by the tenderest ties of family and friendship.

"I have heard you with the greatest pleasure mention the names of several of my old and new colleagues, your fellow-countrymen. At all periods they have been distinguished as the zealous defenders of wise and true liberty."

A silver crown, bound round with oak leaves by a venerable and aged man: "I accept," said he, "with gratitude the crown which you present, not to me alone, but to me in common with the patriots of Dauphiny, of the periods of 1787, 88, 89; of the years in which you made your sentiments so well known, and particularly of that memorable day,* when you taught the

* An allusion to the celebrated affair of 1815, in which the national guard of Grenoble so valiantly defended the walls of

Austrians, once too often, what a national guard could do, animated by the love of liberty and their country. Accept, gentlemen, the homage of my gratitude, and of all the sentiments of which my heart is full."

In the evening, the whole of the town was magnificently illuminated, and a grand serenade was given to the General. The next day, at an entertainment which had been prepared in honour of him, he proposed this toast:—

"To the department of the Isere, and to the town of Grenoble!

"Here waved the first banner of liberty, the first signal of political equality. Here will be found, in the time of need, an anchor of safety.

"May every prosperity be showered upon the beautiful country of the Isere, and upon the illustrious metropolis of Dauphinese patriotism!"

The authorities of Grenoble, and particularly the mayor of the town, had manifested a desire of suppressing, or at least of moderating, the general enthusiasm; but they learned in time the impossibility, and even the danger of such an attempt.

The same enthusiasm, the same public joy, the

the city against an Austrian division, which suffered considerable loss.

same testimonials of respect and veneration, awaited the general in the city of Vizille, whither he proceeded to spend a few days with the Perrier family. There the resentment of the government was expressed by the brutal deposition of the mayor, who had dared to head the inhabitants of this illustrious cradle of Dauphinese liberty, to offer homage to Lafayette; but, strange to say, the influence of authority was inadequate to finding a single citizen who would consent to replace the magistrate honoured by such a deposition. Bonfires lighted on all the summits of the Alps were added to the illuminations of Vizille.

Lafayette's route through the towns of Voiron, Latour-du-Pin, Bourgoin, and the surrounding country whose population flocked to meet him, was one continued triumph. The whole town of Vienne turned out to receive him, and fire-works, prohibited by the authorities, were transported across the Rhine, and displayed in the adjacent departments.

The speech in which Lafayette recalled the archbishop of Vienne's presidency at Versailles produced the most lively enthusiasm, especially when he pronounced those words preparative to to the glorious struggle impending. "You justly

observe, gentlemen, that the political sentiments of the inhabitants of Vienne cannot be more opportunely manifested than under the novel circumstances in which we are placed; and I feel assured that whenever the public liberty may be menaced they will always be found foremost in setting an example of energetic firmness."

Nothing can exceed the magnificence of Lafayette's reception at Lyons, that second city of the kingdom, which had forty-four years before saluted within her walls the rising glory of the defender of American liberty, who now returned to her in the decline of his career, full of wounds, full of glory, full of honour. The mere name of Lafayette could not indeed fail to produce a deep impression in a city whose love of liberty is the necessary result of her love of order and of industry. That liberty, as an historian has already observed, which is beloved at Lyons is the same that was anciently claimed by the industrious borderers on the Zuydersee; more recently achieved at the expence of a no less glorious struggle by the oppressed colonies of England; that liberty, which with purity unsullied, rests its basis on the dignity and independence of man; that in short which recognizes for its heroes

the William Tells, the De-Witts, the Washingtons, and the Lafayettes.

Eighty thousand persons had poured out to meet Lafayette; and here, as in American cities, the remaining population took possession of the streets and of the windows, and roofs both of dwelling houses and public edifices.

Addressed by M. Prunelle in the name of the inhabitants of Lyons, the general replied:

"I have then, at length, the happiness of revisiting this great and beautiful city, whose vicissitudes during our political tempests have excited in my soul such keen and sympathetic emotions.

"It was four years prior to the revolution of 1789, that I received in your city the first testimonies of Lyonnese regard. When admiring the prodigies of your industry, little imagining that it was so soon to acquire new and still encreasing development from free institutions and from the abolition of the trammels and prejudices of the *ancien regime;* and when remarking the fine condition and excellent spirit of your burgher guard, who enjoyed the privilege of electing their own officers, my wishes invoked the day when the National Guard of France, founded on this same principle of emulation and civic discipline, should

be destined to defend the national liberty and independence.

" No sooner had the revolution burst forth, and Parisian patriotism coming to the assistance of Constituent Assembly, at that time menaced with a fatal *coup d'etat*, erected over the ruins of the Bastille the national banner of liberty and equality, than the patriotism of Lyons was the first to aid our efforts.

" Again when, a year later, fourteen thousand deputies from three millions of National Guards came to Paris, and there surrounded the federal altar, we hailed with transport the new banner from the department of the Rhone: it was on that important anniversary that I received from the City of Lyons the symbolical present to which you have been pleased to allude,* and which I have ever preserved as a precious talisman, and an indissoluble bond which unites me to Lyons.

" Oh why, afterwards, amidst the miracles of glory resulting from that first and pure spark of patriotic enthusiasm, was the holy cause of liberty

* A Roman ensign representing Curtius plunging into the gulph for the preservation of his country, and surmounted by the Gallic cock with the motto: " Cives lugdunenses optimo civi."

destined to be compromised and changed in its very nature by a period of anarchical tyranny, against which the City of Lyons opposed a courageous resistance, followed by frightful misfortunes!

"You have deigned to express a regret which honours and deeply affects me;* but such a consideration could only serve to tighten the bonds of a captivity by which our august gaolers took vengeance upon us, less perhaps for proclaiming the first declaration of the rights of men and citizens, than for having long maintained public order and laboured to prevent that excess of licence and crime which had then become the sole hope of the coalesced cabinets in the counter-revolutionary faction.

"You have recalled, Sir, my happy visit to the twenty-four States of the American Union. I found in every part of that union a particular attachment cherished for the City of Lyons with a just sense of the reciprocal advantages resulting from her commercial relations with the States.

* This refers to the expressions of M. Prunelle regretting that instead of a misplaced reliance on the military chiefs of the Lyonnese revolution, that city had not Lafayette at her head, who would have directed her to a true conception of that liberty, and of that really national spirit which always animated the hearts of the Lyonnese population.

"At this day, gentlemen, after a long succession of brilliant despotism, and of constitutional hopes, I find myself amongst you at a moment which I should call critical, if I had not every where encountered on my road, if I did not perceive in this powerful city, the calm and even disdainful firmness of a great people conscious of their rights and of their strength, and resolved to be faithful to their duties. Under the present circumstances I take pleasure in the acknowledgment of a devotion, to which while I live you will never appeal in vain. With all my heart I join the homage of that devotion to that of my profound and inexpressible gratitude for the reception with which the people of Lyons have honoured me."

After this oration, says the *Précurseur*, Lafayette ascended an open *calèche*, prepared for him and drawn by four superb horses, and the procession set forward for Lyons in the following order:

1st. A piquet of young men on horseback;

2nd. Three carriages of the deputation;

3rd. The general's carriage, surrounded by a cohort of young men on foot.

4th. The remaining carriages of the gentlemen of the commission.

5th. A train of private carriages, so numerous

that the last equipages had scarcely reached the middle of the long street of Guillotiére, when the head of the procession arrived at the bridge of Charles X., by which the general designed entering the city.

An immense multitude which cannot be computed at less than sixty-thousand persons filled the quays the streets and courts of the city. Scarcely could the procession force its way through the close ranks of the populace, while the air resounded on all sides with cries of *Vive Lafayette!* cries that were re-echoed from all the windows. The ladies also took part in the public joy: great numbers elegantly dressed occupied carriages in the procession, or waved their handkerchiefs from the casements as the General passed. Similar acclamations and manifestations of joy accompanied him to the Hôtel du Nord, where he alighted. There he shewed himself in the balcony, to gratify the eagerness of the crowd who immediately and quietly dispersed to allow the noble veteran the repose he so much needed.

The evening was passed in a brilliant serenade.

The authorities of Lyons, whose efforts and proclamations had been powerless to arrest or even to abate for an instant the universal move-

ment, had recourse to another means which proved equally unavailing. They bethought themselves of unpaving the bridge by which the crowd were to pass, but as it happened the people quietly made a circuit to cross another bridge which has since assumed the name of Lafayette.

Early the following morning the General received the visits of the principal citizens; and the confluence of all persons of note in Lyons was incessant till the moment appointed for an excursion on the Soane. At three in the afternoon the guest of the city, with his family, mounted a carriage prepared for the purpose, and was escorted to the Neuville Gate by a brilliant and numerous cavalcade through an immense and admiring multitude. Two large barges had been fitted up with decks, and hastily decorated for the occasion. A select company, amongst whom were many splendidly attired ladies, attended the General.

A multitude of smaller vessels, glowing with pendants of a thousand colours, surrounded the barges, and the quays on both banks of the Soane resounded with the acclamations of the people who covered them. Beyond the city the crowd was increased by the concourse from the neigh-

bouring country; but on approaching *l'Ile Barbe* the spectacle was really surprising. The meadows of the island, as well as its shores, were a living forest of heads, over which the bridge of Saint Rambert, filled with a dense crowd, formed an animated amphitheatre; and even on the most elevated platforms of those picturesque hills, which bound the bed of the Soane, numberless groups of spectators were visible. At this moment the steam-packet from Chalons to Lyons happened to pass; and the passengers, astonished at so extraordinary a scene, soon learned its cause. By a spontaneous movement, they uncovered as they passed the barges, and heartily joined in the cry of *Vive Lafayette!* which, repeated simultaneously by sixty thousand voices, was echoed and re-echoed around.* In the evening a grand masonic fête was given to the General.

The next day he was entertained at a banquet of five hundred covers in the magnificent hall Gayet, on his road to which he again passed through a densely crowded populace, who had placed themselves in the way, notwithstanding the rain which was pouring in torrents.

* Statement of the Précurseur.

M. Conderc, the General's colleague, having proposed for a toast:

"Other warriors have gained battles; others have made eloquent orations; but none have equalled him in the civic virtues."

Lafayette replied:

"I am proud and happy, gentlemen, that my arrival in this great and patriotic city has afforded her an additional opportunity of manifesting her unvarying hatred of oppression, her love of true liberty, her determination of resisting all the attempts of counter-revolutionary incorrigibility.

"*No more concessions,* say the official journals of the party; strange misconception of the nature of social powers! *No more concessions,* say the French people in their turn, and with a juster right, while demanding those institutions so long expected, which alone can guarantee the enjoyment of our imprescriptible rights recognized by the charter.

"Gentlemen," added he, "they threaten us with hostilities; but how will they effect them? By the Chamber of Deputies? My colleague and friend, your respectable Deputy, who is even now by my side, M. Conderc will guarantee, every one of our colleagues who partake of this

banquet will also guarantee, that in the hour of danger our Chamber will prove faithful to patriotism and honour.

"Would they dissolve the Chamber? It would then be in the hands of the electors; and certainly they would send Deputies worthy of themselves, of the nation, and of the circumstances.

"Will they dare, by simple ordinances, to vitiate the elections, and exercise an illegal authority? Doubtless the advisers of such measures will come to a timely recollection that the power of every government must exist in the arms and in the purse of each citizen who forms a component part of the nation. The French nation knows its rights, it knows also how to defend them.

"Let us hope then, gentlemen, that these plots will be defeated; and in the meantime may we cordially unite in the following toast:

"*To the department of the Rhone, and to the city of Lyons*, the ancient metropolis of industry, and the courageous enemy of oppression! May her liberty, her greatness, and her prosperity be founded on the solid basis of a full enjoyment of those natural and social rights which she has, from time immemorial, invoked!"

The next day, at seven o'clock, General La-

fayette entered his carriage, and quitted the city of Lyons. The rain, which fell in torrents, formed no impediment to the crowds who once more pressed upon his route to bid him a last farewell. An escort of cavalry accompanied him two leagues beyond the city, and there ended this long series of popular triumphs, which the illustrious citizen himself arrested, by declining the pressing solicitations of deputations from St. Etienne and Chalons-sur-Saône, which had come to invite him to visit their towns. After having expressed to them his grateful thanks, the General went direct to his seat La Grange, by a different road to that on which new multitudes awaited him with new homage.

The patriotic impulse excited by the presence of Lafayette throughout this part of France was so great, that the Court was on the point of sending an order by telegraph for his arrest at Lyons: from this time, in fact, the revolution commenced. They thought better of it, however, though without self-delusion with respect to the prodigious effect created by this journey.

MEMOIRS

OF

GENERAL LAFAYETTE

DURING

THE REVOLUTION OF 1830.

SECOND PART.

CHAPTER I.

Lafayette at La Grange.—A Glance at the Politics of the Restoration.—Progress of the Counter Revolution.—Villéle Administration.—Polignac Administration.—The Administration of the 8th of August.—Situation of France at the Publication of the Ordinances of the 25th of July.

FROM the period of his return to France in 1800, Lafayette had spent the chief of his time at his estate of La Grange, the inheritance of his mother-in-law, the Duchess of Ayen, one of the

victims immolated under the reign of terror. The decree for the restitution of the property of condemned persons restored to him this wreck of a great patrimony, of which the revolutionary whirlpool had engulphed all that he had not himself sacrificed to the interests of that liberty to which he was at all times equally ready to dedicate his fortune and his life.* There, in the bosom of his numerous family, happy in the felicity which his paternal solicitude shed over all who surrounded him, encircled with friends, and rich in the benedictions of the poor, Lafayette, as much a stranger to the palaces of the restoration as to those of the empire, indulged his predominant taste for agriculture.

I shall not attempt to describe that antique residence of La Grange, at the door of which the unfortunate never asked admittance in vain. So

* Charles X. frequently said—"There are but two persons in the revolution, Lafayette and myself, who have remained unalterably firm in their principles." And, in fact, the revolution of July furnished a new proof of the tenacity of principle which distinguished these two contemporaries. The last words addressed by the dethroned king to the captain who escorted him to England were: "The old republican Lafayette has been the prime mover of all this mischief." It is a principal characteristic of this incorrigible party to see nothing but proper names in the movements of popular masses.

many patriots, philanthropists, friends of humanity of all opinions and of all countries, have, like myself, taken their seats at the fireside of M. de Lafayette, that the simplicity, the frank hospitality, the continual but concealed actions of beneficence, the improvements in agricultural industry and domestic economy which were enjoyed in this abode of happiness, are well known to the world: the patriarchal hospitality of La Grange has become proverbial.

I have now arrived at that sudden convulsion of the social system, in which this man of the two worlds was about to show himself, as he always had done, the equally zealous defender of order, and ardent promoter of the liberty of his country. But previously to following him through the new career which was opening before him, let us cast a hasty glance over events so unforeseen and so great as to bid defiance to all comparisons, and all precedents.

Never had a greater number of humiliations and outrages combined to arouse the indignation of a whole people, and to impress upon its mind the love of liberty. My memory can recall nothing, nor can my imagination paint any thing more perfidious, and at the same time more

absurd, than the last fifteen years of the reign of those Bourbons, to whom France had granted her pardon, and saw, without hatred as without love, re-established on the most powerful throne of the universe. And if it is for the first time in the world that a nation of thirty-two millions of men, dispersed over a vast territory, diversified by their manners, their necessities, their defects, their virtues, and, above all, by the various degrees of a very unequal civilization, has been found to accord, after fifteen years of patience, in one unanimous sentiment of reprobation, it is but just to observe that there never was a reigning family more zealous to insult the public opinion, and to excite in the people a feeling foreign to the age. How many old prejudices were revived! how many conspiracies meditated! how many iniquities committed in this short interval of fifteen years! So much turpitude and vanity has truly something superhuman in it. Let us look back to the period of the first return of the Bourbons, a period admirably adapted for a reign of peace and reparation.

France, such as Louis XVIII. found it, was no longer that nation exalted by the commotions and triumphs of the Revolution which 1793 had left

suspended between the popular sovereignty, not yet sprung into life, and the monarchical despotism no longer existing. The spirit of democratic turbulence had evaporated in lassitude; republican radicalism had been modified by the rapid change in public opinion; and the only sentiments which had passed unwarped through the weakness of the Directory, the deceptions of the Consulate, and the glories of the empire, were a purified love of the Revolution of 1789, hatred of the excesses of 1793, and a general reprobation of the brilliant yoke of Buonaparte. This fortunate soldier found power at war with anarchy, and his despotism could support itself, up to a certain point, upon the necessity of terminating this grievous struggle. The restoration had, on the contrary, found liberty contending with despotism, and all the intelligence, all the interests of the country, labouring to return to the principles of 1789, and to establish the constitution of 1791. God forbid that I should blend unworthy flattery with my duty as a patriot writer! That Napoleon betrayed the sacred cause of liberty is undeniable; nevertheless, it is but just to bear circumstances in mind, and to acknowledge that he had at least a

pretext for his usurpation of the popular sovereignty, in the necessity of stifling anarchy, of re-establishing order, of calming apprehensions, and of overcoming all the elements of a civil war, which seemed about to crown the devastations of foreign hostilities. But how differently were the Bourbons situated! Humiliated vanity and deceived ambition were the only obstacles that remained for them to conquer, whilst opposed to these were the moral strength of France, the torrent of opinion, and the universal desire for calm after five and twenty years of tempest. What was required of them to engraft liberty upon these admirable dispositions? Nothing but to espouse frankly the generous principles of a revolution, the violences rather than the benefits of which the people had hitherto experienced. On the contrary, what did they? Scarcely seated upon a throne, still humid with the blood of Louis XVI., the family of this Prince had already sown the seeds of faction and of public calamity; all the old prejudices, all those interests founded on abuses, were revived with insolent temerity; they returned with shameless effrontery to all the iniquities of the bygone age. Such was the aim of all the acts, the spirit of all

the orations, and of all the writings which signalized the brief existence of the first restoration.

The force of events produced the result which simple good sense might have foreseen. A skiff appeared upon the coast of Provence, and that throne, which had been rooted for eight centuries, surrounded by a people and an army, shook to its foundation before a single man who protected the recollections of glory, but who was no longer called to the nation by its unanimous assent. I shall not speak of the reign of the hundred days. Liberty, a second time disowned by Buonaparte, would no longer range itself under his dictatorship; the nation withdrew from him, and one day, one unfortunate battle, effected against this great captain what three years of reverses and twenty lost battles had scarcely been able to accomplish, while the nation still lent him its support. Thus perished Buonaparte, as the work of selfishness and ambition will always perish in France.

Here opens a new series of facts, the heads of which must be run over to obtain a full understanding of the crisis which decided our emancipation. I shall not recall those first years of sanguinary reaction and royalist terrorism, during

which the purest blood of France flowed upon the scaffold. With how many wounds and chains the Bourbons then overwhelmed our unfortunate country is but too well known; nor can the image of the most Christian King devouring his children, like Saturn, be so quickly effaced from the memory of the French. I will but touch upon the more general traits of that vast plan of counter-revolution of which the ordinances of the 25th of July were the finishing stroke.

The first blow levelled at the Charter of 1814, that incomplete consecration of the principles proclaimed by the Constituent Assembly, was the ordinance by which Louis XVIII. changed, on his own authority, the original conditions of constituency and eligibility. From that period every day gave birth to some new project of counter-revolution. This had its commencement in the establishment of a double government in the state; the one form ostensible, and destined to support the appearance of a representative government, the other occult, and exercising a despotic influence over all the branches of the administration. Hitherto the counter-revolution had but marched to its object, now it began to run. Therefore the Villèle administration was formed,

with the manifest design of accomplishing the counter-revolution, by fortifying it with all the energies of seven individuals, loaded with stigmas and devoted to party.

Therefore, also, arose that impious war which exhibited to the world the spectacle of a French army marching to stifle in Spain the germs of that liberty for which France had herself so long combatted. From this moment the political reaction of the revolution was boundless. The ordinance of Andujar was no sooner published than revoked. The revolution had struck at the heart of fanaticism, by confining the clergy to the ministration of the gospel; satisfaction was made by a bloody law, the law of sacrilege. The charter had pronounced the sale of the national property irrevocable; a thousand millions were sacrificed to the voracity of the emigrants. It guaranteed the liberty of the press; an attempt was made to abolish it. A jury was the sole palladium of the life and honour of the citizen; its suppression was commenced by a project of law which took from it the cognizance of offences of barretry and piracy. Another project of law respecting the medical schools and medical juries left no doubt as to the intention of successively

enslaving all the liberal professions. Finally, some indications of independence having been manifested by the Chamber of Peers, the Ministry hastened to people it with creatures of the restoration, and the most servile remains of the Imperial Senate.

Such was the state of affairs, when the counter-revolution openly avowed, all the interests of the state in danger, the indignation of all upright minds, and, above all, the outcry of public opinion, caused the apprehension on the part of the Ministry of the loss of the majority which it had succeeded in creating in the Chambers, at the expense of so much corruption and so many frauds; the Government convoked the electoral colleges, whence issued, in despite of its utmost efforts, the more popular Chamber of 1828.

Beaten in the elections, the restoration enacted the hypocrite; the Villèle administration was overthrown; the king came at the opening of the session to stammer out some words of liberty, to promise improvement, and France, always foolishly confiding, believed in his promises, pardoned and hoped. The Martignac ministry reconducted the ostensible policy of the government into more

liberal paths, and it is but justice to acknowledge, that its first care was to give to the country some of those guarantees which had so long been demanded in vain. The electoral law, destined to repress those ministerial frauds which had so deeply gangrened the national representation; the law on the liberty of the press, although imperfect, since it declined on this point the jurisdiction of a jury; and the ordinances of the 16th of June, against religious congregations, gave to the session of 1828, a character of reparation, which conciliated to government the interest and support of the nation. We well remember that journey into Alsace, during which the population, forgetting the most legitimate resentments, came to repay with their homage, the evils which power had for a while ceased to inflict. This simple change of ministry seemed to have restored to the nation the exercise of its rights, and to the throne the affections of the French people. There remained, indeed, many legal victories to gain, but its essential characters were restored to the representative government, and the people were persuaded that there would be no difficulty in giving them their full development.

Nothing at this moment appeared more easy,

than to proceed in those national paths to which the ministry and the legislature had just returned. But if the Chambers and the depositaries of power were sincere, the court was not so. Always governed by one fixed idea, the court had only adjourned its favourite project of a counter-revolution. Suspicious and dissembling, it saw only enemies in the ministers, whom the force of circumstances had imposed upon it; without the cabinet, councils were formed which paralyzed its energies, and rendered its march painful and indecisive. The session of 1829 passed away in new conflicts, indicative of the plots which were proceeding in secret. The prorogation of the Chambers left the field open to the counter-revolution; and scarcely had the Deputies returned to their departments, than the announcement of the ministry of the 8th of August struck people with consternation. Never had France been more unworthily betrayed, and, as said M. de Berenger, it was reserved for our heroic nation, to receive in a single day, from the hands of its king, greater outrages than foreigners would ever have dared to inflict.

In this momentous crisis, however, the entire country arose, assumed an imposing attitude, and

faced, with indignation and courage, the impious faction into the hands of which its destinies had just been thrown; from all sides, a cry of anathema was heard against that increasing generation of favourites, mistresses, and flatterers, which had succeeded in possessing itself of power.

Then, one by one, opinion took up the members of the new administration, and found in each a a living image of the most hideous wounds, which France had endured for three centuries past. What, in fact, were these ministers? A Roman prince, bred in the maxims of ultra despotism, and whose melancholy destiny it was, that the first and last acts of his life should be blended with political plots;* the man of sanguinary ideas;† the good-natured prefect, who seeing from his window, the march of the guillotine through the champaign of the Rhine, remarked that the errors of governments should be buried in the entrails of the earth;‡ the spoilt child of the congregation, whose incapacity was become proverbial;§ the promoter of the prevotal courts;‖ a returned emigrant, a traitor,

* M. de Polignac. † M. de La Bourdonnaie. ‡ M. Chabrol.
§ M. de Montbel. ‖ M. de Courvoisier.

whose sword had cast a stigma on French glory, and lastly, a Mangin.

Such was the composition of the new cabinet. On one side, hypocrisy and fanaticism; on the other, violence; elsewhere, treason and servility; on all sides, insincerity and hatred of our institutions. Events followed close upon the spirit of the men; all the aristocratical passions were put in motion; every resentment was awakened, every insane hope revived at this signal.

What was to be feared, what to be hoped from such a situation? It promised to the country nothing but a futurity of blood; for it was evident that despotism was necessary to men who possessed neither the power nor the capacity to bring into play the resources of the representative government. In such a crisis, inaction would have been fatal. Accordingly, a generous emulation took possession of every citizen. On all hands, preparations were made to combat to extremity, that contempt of all civilization, that horror of all liberty, of all national advancement, which formed the soul of the cabinet of the 8th of August. In vain, affrighted by the cry of indig-

* M. de Bourmont.

nation which saluted them as a public calamity, the new ministers hesitated to adopt arbitrary measures; in vain, amidst the apprehensions, the terrors that assailed them, they affected security; in vain, they protested that the nation had nothing to fear: the nation, satisfied that its alarms had never been more legitimate, prepared in all quarters for the defence of its menaced rights. A nucleus of association formed to organize a resistance to all taxation, was propagated with prodigious rapidity; the press, elevating itself to the greatness of its object, engaged in a perpetual war against all the acknowledged projects of government; it aroused the fear of *coups d'état*, it inspired all classes with the presentiment of a great approaching danger; and eventually, whoever in France had patriotism in his heart, prepared for resistance. Nine months past in recriminations and in preparations for attack and defence. But, after all, it was indispensably necessary, to determine upon facing the nation, and the Chambers were convened.

Hitherto, the faction had affected patriotism, and fatigued the nation with its praises; now its language changed; Charles X. on the opening of the session, denounced France a focus of

revolt and sedition; the counter-revolution was even anticipated in the royal speech. "If," said the king, "culpable manœuvres should excite against my government, obstacles opposed to my will, but which I cannot foresee, I shall find in my resolution, the power to surmount them."

Of all the sessions, none had commenced under such melancholy auspices. Faction, which after fourteen centuries of permanent rebellion against the rights of the people, was reduced to a shadowy phantom under the republic of the empire, had now shown itself in renewed vigour. We had no longer to discuss fears more or less vague; rumours more or less well founded; the counter-revolution had proclaimed its secret, and it was now understood, that from henceforth, liberty must overcome an insolent oligarchy, or that oligarchy would stifle liberty. In a word, it was evident that what the 8th of August had begun in fraud, was preparing to be carried on by force of arms.

In the royal speech, so deeply impregnated with gall, and with contempt for the national rights, France saw only an additional reason for never treating with enemies who must be conquered; and for perseveringly repulsing, with all

the energy of her will, men, whom so many plots and a secular aversion for liberty, marked out to her consternation, as the most irreconcileable enemies of a representative government.

The Chamber of Deputies justly understood the danger of our position; and felt that the questionat issue was not, as some maintained, a quarrel of individuals or of parties, for if the administration of public affairs may, without peril, lapse into perverse or unskilful hands when strong and vigorous institutions repose under the shadow of their own antiquity, it is not so while the organic laws are still a question rather of right than of fact, and while those institutions which give vitality to liberty are yet to be obtained. The question of facts, then resolves itself into a question of men, and the existence of an evil ministry, were it but for a year, a month, or a single day, is a public calamity.

The majority of the Chamber thought it necessary to make this truth reach the ear. of the monarch. "The intervention of the nation," said they, "renders a permanent concurrence of the political views of your government with the wishes of the people, an indispensable condition of the orderly progression of public affairs. Sire, our

loyalty, our devotion, oblige us to declare to you that such concurrence does not exist.

"Your Majesty's supreme wisdom must decide between those who misconstrue so calm, so faithful a nation, and us, who with profound conviction approach your Majesty, to lay before you the grievances of a whole people."

What was the reply of Charles the Tenth's supreme wisdom? That the resolutions announced in the speech from the throne were immutable!*

From that moment, the symptoms of an approaching crisis succeeded each other with frightful rapidity. The adjournment of the Chamber, was quickly followed by its dissolution; the most criminal exercise of every species of fraud to vitiate the elections; a vast and atrocious conspiracy, spreading conflagration through our provinces; a great military enterprise, conceived and executed with the sole desire of operating a diversion in the public mind favourable to the counter-revolution; the appointment of a generalissimo, crowned with inextinguishable opprobrium; the employment of enormous sums, without the control of the Chambers; the return of M. Peyronnet to the ministry,

* Address of the two hundred and twenty-one.

and the nomination of Messieurs Capelle and Chanteleuze, to replace two ministers who withdrew from the projects of the counter-revolution; the royal proclamation; the adjournment of twenty electoral colleges; the news of the capture of Algiers; the ministerial songs of triumph; the almost integral re-election of the two hundred and twenty-one; the triumph of the constitutional opposition, in the immense majority of the colleges; the defeat of the ministers; the despatch of sealed letters, calling the deputies to Paris, no doubt that their persons might be more easily seizable; and lastly, the publication of a memorial, in which the emigrants solicited Charles X. to a *coup d'état*;—such were the events which preceded the ordinances of the 26th of July, ordinances in which the feelings of the 8th of August found an active expression.

The first of these ordinances, a direct attempt against the national representation, pronounced the dissolution of the Chamber previously to its meeting; the second annulled the electoral laws then existing, reduced the number of deputies from 430 to 258, left the *arrondissement* colleges only the right of presenting candidates, abolished the secresy of votes, the intervention of the third

estate, and the jurisdiction of the royal courts in matters of election; the third convoked the new colleges for the 6th and 18th of September, and the Chambers for the 28th of the same month; lastly, the fourth ordinance abrogated the laws by which the liberty of the press was guarded, and restored to vigour the dispositions of that of the 21st October, 1814. *

These ordinances appeared in the *Moniteur* of the 26th July.

* In virtue of this law, no periodical journal could appear without being previously authorized by the government. The ordinance of the 26th July decreed, moreover, that the presses and type of the journals convicted of disobedience should be seized, or rendered unserviceable.

CHAPTER II.

Effect produced by the Ordinances.—Appearance of Paris.—Alarming calm during the 26th.—Conduct of the Press.—Meeting of the Journalists at the house of M. Dupin.—First meeting of the Deputies at the house of M. de Laborde.—Courage of that Representative.—Fears of M. Périer.—Meeting of the 27th at M. Périer's.—Collective and individual conduct of the Deputies at that meeting.

A new series of facts here presents itself, bringing us back to the principal object of this work—the conduct of Lafayette, and his co-operation in these great events.

Patriots cannot recall, without terror, the first effect produced by the ordinances: it was a sullen stupor of almost incredulity. The *Moniteur* had been circulating for several hours; the citizens of the capital had read and re-read, for the twentieth time, the insolent manifesto, and could not yet persuade themselves of the actual existence of such insane audacity. The public places remained open as usual; the inhabitants of Paris applied

themselves to their business; no symptoms of insurrection were visible; in short, the most desponding tranquillity reigned till the evening throughout that vast city, in whose bosom the government alone was organizing its means of attack and defence.

The periodical press, however, which sustained the first assault of the counter-revolution, and whose very existence was at stake, boldly took refuge in insurrection. Reduced to the alternative of slavery or revolt, all the opposition journals, with very few exceptions, were faithful to their doctrines. Their conductors and chief editors held their first, but useless meeting, at the house of the elder M. Dupin.* They afterwards

* A journal which subsequently defended the cause of liberty, the *Journal de Paris*, in its number of the 8th of September, gives the following account of the first efforts of the periodical press to organize the resistance which ultimately decided the fate of the Restoration.

It was on Monday, the 26th, that the ordinances appeared. The *coup d'état* was revealed only by the *Moniteur*, that is to say, between eight and nine o'clock in the morning. M. Sarrans, jun. principal editor of the *Courrier des Electeurs*, and the conductor of the *Nouveau Journal de Paris*, were already labouring, each in his sphere, to procure the earliest possible meeting of all the conductors. After an interview with the conductor of the *Journal de Commerce*, who was also exerting himself for the same object, they went together to the office of

met in the *bureaux* of the *National*, where that energetic protest, destined to place arms in the

the *Constitutionnel*, in order to appoint, if possible, the hour of meeting. There they learnt that M. Evariste Dumoulin, whom they had sent as an emissary to ascertain what was passing, had not yet returned from the country. It was determined that immediately on his arrival, information should be conveyed to the conductors of the other papers, who agreed purposely to remain in the neighbourhood. At eleven o'clock, M. Sarrans and the conductor of the *Journal de Paris*, returned to the office of the *Constitutionnel*, and learnt with a surprise which they cannot dissemble, that, without consulting them, the meeting was fixed to take place at the house of M. Dupin, sen.; the counsel for the journals, and that information of the appointment had just been sent to all the journals. Such was at this time the confidence of those gentlemen, and of all their colleagues with whom they conversed, that as a measure of precaution against M. Dupin, they agreed not to attend the meeting without the assistance of less prudent civilians, and each journalist accordingly put in requisition the member of the bar with whom he was most connected. To this sort of impromptu precaution was owing the presence, in M. Dupin's cabinet, of Messrs. Merilhou, Barthe, and Odillon Barrot.

Such was the homage which we paid to the character of M. Dupin: numerous witnesses are ready to attest its truth. That which constituted the real object of the consultation, the means of resistance, on which we required the counsel of the most firm and devoted patriots, these M. Dupin, sen. will now tell us, that he dared take upon himself to point out to us. Every time that one of us pressed him on this question, did he not instantly and eagerly object, with all the haste of a man in terror of being compromised, that the question belonged to politics, and that if he had been pleased to open his cabinet

hands of our citizens, and determine them on resistance to oppression, was discussed, and after strange opposition, over which I cast an official veil, was adopted.

This courageous protest, printed in defiance of the ordinances, and profusely disseminated, notwithstanding the efforts of the satellites of tyranny, produced an electrical effect throughout the whole population. From this moment, public opinion underwent a change: anger and indignation succeeded to surprise; the interests most immediately attacked burst into explosion; the operative printers presented themselves under arms with incredible audacity; the students of the Polytechnic school threw themselves heroically at the head of the insurgent citizens; those of the schools of law and medicine followed the example, and the capital was in revolt. All was then agitation, all

for a consultation purely of right, he would not have opened it for a political discussion? The conductor of this paper then observed to him, that the assembly had not entered his cabinet to learn a fact of which no one was ignorant, that is to say, that ordinances do not abrogate laws; but that, in addressing the civilian, they had been desirous also to confer with the deputy. Upon which, the conductor of this sheet was interrupted by this exclamation, slowly pronounced, and now literally repeated—"I AM NOT A DEPUTY!"

rushing onwards in insurrection. A magnificent defence was arranged in a few hours; the soldiers of despotism presented themselves on the field of battle against the public liberty; the combat was commenced amidst cries of *Vive la Charte! Vive la Liberté!* blood flowed; all hope of conciliation was destroyed, and victory must decide between liberty and despotism.

The struggle between the people and the royal troops was thus entered upon on the evening of Tuesday, the 27th of July; the true cry of insurrection was then first heard. But that day, the prelude to the great events of the following days, produced no other results than two or three charges of gend'armerie, the dispersion of several groups of young men and workmen that had formed in the Rue St. Honoré, the Place Vendome, and in the environs of the Palais-Royal. As yet, the people were but exciting each other to the conquest of their liberties, and preparing for the combats of the 28th and 29th, to which I shall return, after a brief sketch of the conduct of the deputies who were at Paris on the 26th and 27th of July. An eye-witness of the facts I relate, I shall be uninfluenced by the spirit of party; and if I should chance to mistake, it will be the fault

of my memory, never of my will; but my memory, I am convinced, can retrace only true and ineffaceable reminiscences.

The first member of the Chamber who ventured to take a decided part, and to hazard his head in the first stage of the struggle, at a moment when the insurrection was attended only by probabilities of defeat and the perspective of a scaffold, was M. le Comte Alexandre de Laborde. On Monday, the 26th, this honourable and courageous deputy presented himself to the assembled journalists, and accepted the presidency of that meeting in which the principle of protestation and of resistance to the ordinances was loudly and publicly proclaimed. All my ancient colleagues will recollect with admiration the reply which he made to a deputation from the School of Law, who were charged to impress on us the necessity of recourse to arms. "Gentlemen," said M. de Laborde, "you are right; the country no longer demands from us impotent words: unanimous and powerful action can alone save her liberties. Go, tell your comrades that you have found us animated with the same sentiments as yourselves, and prepared to fulfil the same duties, and to face the same dangers. Go, gentlemen, assemble more nume-

rously this evening at ten, when we will acquaint you with our resolutions."

At the termination of the meeting of Journalists, at which each pledged his honour to employ every means at his disposal for provoking resistance and generalizing the insurrection, M. de Laborde convoked a meeting of the Deputies present in Paris. It was appointed for seven o'clock at the house of the honourable Deputy.

At eight o'clock only some members had answered to the call of honour; of the number were Messieurs de Bavoux, Daunou, Vassal, Marschal, de Schonen, Leferre, Bernard, and Villemain. Pressed by events, and perhaps also tired of waiting for the rest of his colleagues, M. de Laborde opened that memorable debate. After describing the present spirit of the public mind, and repeating what he had just seen and heard in the meeting of the Journalists, he showed the necessity of an energetic declaration in answer to the ordinances, and strongly insisted that the members present should draw it up, before they separated, in the name of the Chamber of Deputies. M. Bavoux suggested that the Deputies now present in the capital should constitute themselves a National Assembly. The venerable M. Daunou

spoke with a noble warmth on the duties which the efforts of an oppressive power imposed upon the representatives of the country. He remarked that even the dangers which might accompany the accomplishment of these duties rendered them more imperative and more sacred; that as the liberty of the tribune was violated, the appeal to the people was the only means of public safety which tyranny had left at the disposal of the representatives of the country, and that there must be no hesitation in employing it under the penalty of a forfeiture of honour, and of betraying the confidence and the dearest interests of the nation. M. de Schonen spoke to the same purpose: he said that the moment was decisive; that the liberty of the country was at stake; that the duties of the Deputies was clearly marked out; that this great conjuncture demanded the abnegation of self, and, if the case required it, the cry to arms. Such were the thoughts of all the members of this meeting, and already, I believe, M. Villemain was engaged in reducing them into the formula of a protestation, when M. Périer was announced. The last words of M. de Schonen, *the cry to arms!* had struck upon his ear; his countenance expressed the most lively anxiety.

"Ah! gentlemen," he exclaimed, "how much are you mistaken! What would you do? Have you reflected coolly upon these measures? You constitute yourselves a national assembly! and cry to arms!"

But so many legitimate resentments pursue the memory of the President of the Council, that my task of historian imposes it upon me as a duty to cast off the feelings which these recollections awake in my mind. I shall not report the words which he opposed to the noble resistance of his colleagues, but shall confine myself to a summary of his opinions. He thought that the Chamber was legally dissolved; that the ordinances were but the exercise of a right consecrated by the charter, and that since the publication of that day's *Moniteur* no Deputies existed; that supposing the right invoked by Charles X. was questionable, which he did not admit, where, he asked, was the judge between authority and the people? In every event he declared that the Chamber should abstain from taking the lead in a contest; that it would be an act of madness on its part to push on an insurrection; that it was impossible but that the king must in the end make up his mind to withdraw the ordinances; and that the

declaration should be worded upon this supposition, supposing the project to be persisted in, but that he did not give his assent to it. With respect to the confidence which seemed to be placed in public opinion, he (M. Périer), did not participate in it. Accustomed, said he, to express itself through legal channels, this opinion would not arm itself with a brutal force; and if it dared to do so, it would be vanquished and annihilated: witness the results of the events of 1820, 1821, and 1827; witness, in fine, all the abortive conspiracies attempted during fifteen years. In short, M. Périer thought the wisdom and patriotism of the Deputies should await events, and regulate their conduct according to accomplished facts.

During these debates, and on the proposition of M. de Laborde, three of the Deputies present repaired to the meeting of the Journalists, which was now augmented by a great number of the electors of Paris. These Deputies, who were M.M. de Laborde, Villemain, and de Schonen, had found all these honourable citizens animated by the most ardent patriotism, aud more than ever determined to oppose a vehement resistance to the encroachments of authority. M. de Laborde, still under the impressions which he had

there received, represented warmly to his colleagues that a longer hesitation on their part would be fatal to liberty, that the victory of the people depended upon the concurrence of the Deputies with the citizens who had first devoted themselves, and that they ought instantly to join the meeting of the Journalists. This opinion was combatted by M. Périer, who resumed his former arguments against every procedure tending to any other object than that of recalling Charles X. to better views. Despairing, however, of persuading his colleagues to adopt this opinion, he had recourse to a prejudicial expedient, which succeeded. He remarked that there would be lightness and inconsistency in adopting a determination of this nature without consulting the other Deputies present in Paris, and he undertook to have them convoked to his house for an early hour the following day. In fact, letters of convocation were addressed by M. Périer to several members of the Chamber; but no doubt, in consequence of the increasing irritation of the populace, and the hostile disposition manifested by them during the night and on the following morning, M. Périer hastened to recommend the Deputies he had convoked not to accept his invitation.

Such, through the day of the 26th of July, was the attitude taken by the Deputies present in Paris.

The morning of the 27th did not open under more favourable auspices. A very few Deputies re-assembled at the house of M. de Laborde, and appointed a rendezvous at the house of M. Périer at two in the afternoon. This choice appeared to occasion some visible uneasiness; but so imminent were the dangers which menaced the liberty of the country, that they were thought capable of rekindling the patriotism of M. Périer, which had been slightly damped within the last two years. It was well known that the active liberalism of this Deputy had been blunted by contact with royal graciousness; but it was hoped that the tribune would revive at the sight of the country's danger, and that the Rheum of Demosthenes would not resist the sun of July.

This assemblage was preceded by a scene of carnage. A great number of young men, attracted to the Rue Neuve du Luxembourg by the report of a meeting of the Deputies, were there shut in and sabred by two detachments of cavalry. Obliged to take refuge in the neighbouring houses, they knooked in vain at M. Périer's door; pru-

dence kept it closed against every one who could not announce himself by the name of a Deputy. Many of these young patriots, severely wounded, were carried to the office of the Minister for Foreign Affairs.

Meanwhile what was passing in the interior of M. Périer's hotel? The deputies, who this time assembled in pretty considerable numbers, under the precedency of M. Labey de Pompières, had, from the opening of the sitting, divided it into two hostile camps: the one defended the constitutionality of the dissolution of the Chamber, the maintenance of Charles Xth's royal authority, the necessity of not overstepping legal limits, and of the assembly's restricting itself to inducing the withdrawal of the ordinances, by respectful remonstrances, resting upon the manifestation of public opinion. The other side maintained that the quality of deputy was not destroyed by the ordinance of dissolution; that, moreover, Charles X. in violating the charter by each and all of his ordinances, had divested himself of the right to dissolve the Chamber, and that consequently the deputies remained in possession of the plenitude of their qualifications; that it was absurd to invoke the law in favour of a power which had

just broken through all its ties, and that when the liberty or slavery of France, a representative government, or an individual tyranny was in question, the public safety could no longer be sought, but in the success of an open resistance to oppression.

M. Dupin maintained the first of these two opinions; M. Mauguin was the energetic champion of the second. M.M. de Larborde, De Puyraveau, Bérard, Labey de Pompières, Persil, Milleret, Bertin de Vaux, and Villemain, pronounced for the opinion of M. Mauguin; the two last holding, however, that Charles X. should be distinguished from his ministers and not compounded with them in a common reprobation. M.M. Sebastiani and Casimir Périer ranged themselves under the banner of M. Dupin. It is, however, justice to add, that M. Périer announced his opinions at first by mute signs, which attested the uncertainty of mind that tormented him.

The debate was becoming more animated on either side, when it was interrupted by an unforseen incident which gave it a new character. A deputation of the electors of the City of Paris requested to be introduced. M. Périer already saw the sword of the Bourbons and the popular dagger, suspended over the heads of the assembly. " Ob-

serve," cried he, "the predicament in which we are placed! If we receive the deputation, it will be known at the Tuileries; perhaps it may cause irritation, and who knows what measures may be adopted against us? If the deputation is not admitted, complaints will be made, the individuals composing it may disperse themselves amongst the people, and in the present exasperated state of the popular mind, who can answer for the consequences?" * M.M. Dupin and Sebastiani opposed to the utmost the reception of this deputation, which, joined to the nomination of a president, converted, said they, a family meeting into an actual deliberative assembly.

The deputation, however, was introduced. It was composed of the most honourable citizens of the capital, who by their organs, M.M. Mérilhon and Boulay de la Meurthe, came to declare to the deputies that all the bonds which attached France to the throne of the Bourbons were broken; that the nation no longer ought to, no longer can, appeal to any thing but insurrection against an authority which had trampled upon all the laws, and that the people rely on the patriotism and courage of their representatives.

* History of the three days by M. Marast.

Absolute silence followed this declaration, and the deputation retired to an adjoining apartment, to leave the Deputies entire freedom of deliberation. Thereupon a new deputation of young men demanded admission. M. Périer hastened to them, and conjured them not to persist in a step which he considered imprudent in the extreme; he represented to these young men the madness of their efforts against the measures of repression which the government could not assuredly have failed to take; he exhorted them to return within the limits of the law, and not to seek in the streets a victory which would elude their pursuit. The youths, determined to rely henceforward only on the energy of the people, retired; and M. Périer rejoined his colleagues.

The Deputies were already in deliberation; their deliberations were long—that it would be well-timed and prodigiously patriotic to address a letter to Charles X., imploring his Majesty to be graciously pleased to change his ministers, and withdraw the fatal ordinances. This opinion, propounded by Messieurs Bertin-de-Vaux, Dupin, Sebastiani, Périer, and Villemain, prevailed; without, however, leading to any result. They separated without any decisive measure, without

attempting any thing for that heroic people whose blood already flowed in torrents in the streets of Paris. I mistake—something was done: a meeting was appointed for the morrow, AT NOON, at the house of M. Audry de Puyraveau, who, on the refusal of M. Périer to open his hotel a second time to the assembled Deputies, eagerly offered them his house, adding, that they would be under the protection of the people.

Hostilities between the people and the royal troops, which had commenced on the evening of the 27th, were renewed early on the 28th, and then assumed that character of unity of action, and tenacity of purpose, which announced a war, whose issue must be life or death to the liberties of France. Accordingly, from that moment, Lafayette inseparably united his existence with the vicissitudes of this great struggle. The country, enveloped in storms, once more sought protection under the ægis of that illustrious citizen, whose laurels, gathered in both hemispheres, were ever those of liberty, courage, and philosophy. As in the earlier days of the revolution of 1789, as in every period of his long career, the authority of his name conquered despotism, and imposed on anarchy.

CHAPTER III.

Arrival of Lafayette in Paris.—His first measures.—The resistance of the People becomes general.—First meeting of Deputies at M. Audry de Puyraveau's.—Conduct and Speeches of Messieurs Lafayette, Manguin, Lafitte, Charles Dupin, Sebastiani, Guizot, Puyraveau, &c.—A Committee despatched to the Duke of Ragusa.—M. Périer secretly proposes giving some millions to Marmont.—First meeting at M. Berard's.—Dereliction of the Popular Cause by nearly all the Deputies present.—Various Conflicts.—Weakness of Messieurs Villemain, Sebastiani, Bertin-de-Vaux.—Second Meeting at M. Audry de Puyraveau's.—The Patriot Deputies no more than eight.—Night of the 28th and 29th.

LAFAYETTE was absent from Paris when the ordinances appeared. The *Moniteur* of the 26th reached him at La Grange, on the morning of the 27th. His resolution could not be doubtful: he set out post, and perhaps owed only to the rapidity of his journey his escape from arrest by the way; for it is impossible that at such a crisis the counter-revolutionary government* should not

* The Court is wrongfully accused of want of foresight, and of failing to adopt all the measures in its power to repress the

have had its eyes fixed on him, who was called the human revolution. However that may be, the

insurrection which the ordinances must provoke. The debates on the trial of the ministers shew that power had anticipated the revolt, and made disposition for suppressing it. Independently of the Prevotal Courts, the establishment of which was to complete the counter-revolutionary system, and the organization of which was decreed, the military authority was prepared beforehand to repulse force by force. So early as the 20th of July, the Duke de Ragusa, then on duty as Major-General of the guard, had transmitted to the various commanders a confidential order, such as is only given in presence of the enemy, or in the most critical circumstances. This order indicated the several points to which *en cas d'alerte* they were to repair; it explains the meaning of a *cas d'alerte* to be the beating of the *generale*, a revolt, or any riotous assembling of armed multitudes. In either of these cases, the troops were instantly to repair to the points marked out for them, with arms, baggage, and all necessary munitions, without further orders. The troops were to be in cloaks, and with knapsacks, in order to frustrate any design the seditious might have formed for deceiving the royalists, by presenting themselves in the costume of the guard.

The officers, non-commissioned officers, and soldiers, were prohibited from quitting their posts, or communicating with the inhabitants. If the king should be at St. Cloud, the troops quartered at the military school, infantry, cavalry and artillery, were to establish themselves in the Champs de Mars; the artillery was to detach a battery, which should repair to the Champs Elysées by the Widow's-alley, and remain in column in the Avenue de Neuilly.

Finally, the order provided that the Lieutenant-General on duty should remit a sealed copy to the commanding officer of the troops quartered in the Rue Verte, who should open it only *en cas d'alerte.*

first care of Lafayette, on the evening of the 27th, was to offer the insurgent patriots the support of his name and his person. At four in the morning, a deputation from the students of the Polytechnic school had met at his house, and some hours later, all that swarm of young heroes were fighting and dying at the head of the people, in every quarter of the capital.

Resistance was established on every point, with various chances of success or reverse; some barricades were beginning to be erected, and already blood flowed abundantly, when, conformably with their convention of the previous day, the deputies began to assemble at M. Audry de Puyraveau's. It was mid-day; the sun was resplendent; the sound of the tocsin, mingling with the thunder of cannon, and the discharges of musquetry, announced that the people were awakened; the representatives of France, at least so it was imagined, were about to decide the fate of their country: an indescribable sentiment of fear and hope agitated all hearts; we were not so much living as devouring life, and dying with impatience.

An innumerable crowd of citizens, diversely armed, or destitute of arms, choked up the avenues to M. Puyraveau's house, seeking to trace in the

external figure of each Deputy as he passed, the measure his heart comprised of courage and patriotic devotion. Lafayette was saluted with the loudest acclamations; he was the anchor of liberty: he and M. Lafitte arrived first at the meeting.

The deputies were soon seated, and silence succeeded to private discussions; the meeting was at length about to occupy themselves with the means of saving that liberty, for which the people had for thirty-six hours been instinctively fighting and bleeding.

I will tax my memory to relate what, with my head resting on the ledge of a window, my ear attentive, and my eye fixed on that hall in which the destinies of a whole people, or more properly the destinies of Europe were debating, I saw and heard in that important moment. I stand at the bar of my country, equally unbiassed by hatred or by fear, I shall speak the whole truth.

M. Mauguin first spoke. That man of dangers; he was the orator of the revolution; Nature had created him for the tribune. He drew, with strong outlines, a frightful picture of the state of Paris; he spoke of the attempt of the court, the resentment of the people, their combats, their

success, their reverses, their fears, and their hopes. "Listen," cried he, with enthusiasm, "listen to the sound of the cannon, and the groans of the dying, they reach even to you; a great people are accomplishing a revolution, which it is your part to direct; their is no longer room for hesitation; our place, gentlemen, is between the popular battalions, and the phalanx of despotism; beware of losing time; the royal guard loses none; once more a revolution calls upon us."

At this word revolution, several Deputies rose, and threatened to retire that very instant; all the fears which had found their way into the meeting now exploded. Messieurs Charles Dupin, Sebastiani, and Guizot, distinguished themselves amongst the most zealous partisans of legal order. "I protest," exclaimed M. Dupin, against every act that exceeds the bounds of legality." "What, are you talking about resistance?" said M. Sebastiani, angrily and hastily; "the question at issue, is the preservation of legal order." "The smallest imprudence," said M. Guizot, "would compromise our good cause; our duty is not, as it is urged, to take part either with or against the people, but to act as mediators, to arrest the

popular movement, and to convince the king that his ministers have deceived him."

A voice well known to the friends of liberty was now heard; that of Lafayette, always as courageous as skilful in laying open the true principles of a question. "I admit," said he, with a smile, "that I can ill reconcile legality with the *Moniteur* of the 26th, and the fusilade of the last two days." Then resuming the composed and solemn accent which became the gravity of his situation, he declared that a revolution was indeed the matter in question, and proposed the immediate appointment of a provisional government, an idea ultimately adopted, but which was too decided, and too patriotic, not to appear at least premature to the majority of his colleagues.

At this moment it was announced that the people were, after a horrible carnage, masters of the Hotel de Ville; but the combat continued, the royal troops were receiving re-inforcements, and there were grounds for fearing that they might yet be victorious. This incident appeared to reanimate the failing courage of some of the champions of legitimacy. M. Guizot, passing sentence on the respectful letter which should have been written to Charles X., was willing to risk the

hazard of a protest, of which he read the substance, and in which fidelity to the king was still introduced. The protest was adopted, notwithstanding the daring observation of M. Lafitte, who declared it insufficient, and inadequate to the legitimate exigencies of a people who had already shed such torrents of blood.

M. Périer proposed sending a mission to the Duke de Ragusa, to obtain a truce from him, during which the Deputies might carry their grievances to the foot of the throne;* but Lafayette demanded that they should simply order Marmont, in the name of the law, and on his personal responsibility, to cause the firing to cease. The committee was, however, appointed, and consisted of Messieurs Périer, Lafitte, Mauguin, Loban, and Gérard. Lafayette, manifestly indignant at all these delays, while the blood of so many citizens was flowing around him, declared to his colleagues that his name was already placed, by the confidence of his fellow-citizens,

* Impartiality compels me to add here, that M. Périer had already confidentially proposed offering some millions to Marmont, to seduce him to the cause of the people; he even insisted that M. Lafitte, who had had pecuniary transactions with the Duke de Ragusa, should undertake the negociation.

and with his own consent, at the head of the insurrection; that he was ardently desirous of obtaining their assent to his determination, but that, be that as it might, he considered himself pledged to establish his head quarters at Paris on the morrow.

Thus concluded that first sitting: its only result a proclamation destitute of energy, or interest and which was to be published—THE NEXT DAY. It was two o'clock and the meeting adjourned till four at M. Berard's.

At four the Deputies re-assembled at M. Berard's. Here the office of historian becomes more painful. I am compelled to retrace scenes which should perhaps be expunged from our parliamentary annals; but the instruction of futurity has claims on them; my pen shall fulfil its duty. During the short space of time which had elapsed between the first and second meeting of the Deputies, on the 28th, the aspect of affairs had totally changed. The patriots had been defeated on several points; the Hotel de Ville twice taken and retaken, remained definitively in the hands of the royal troops, with whom a few brave citizens were again disputing them, but the combatants were beginning to feel discouragement; energy

was wasting for want of direction, anxiety was at its height, and the defeat of the people generally considered as inevitable. Shall I confess it? Scarcely half the Deputies who had assembled in the morning attended the evening sitting. The committee, however, who had been deputed to the Duke de Ragusa, reported to the meeting the insolent reply of that barbarian, who required the submission of the people as preliminary to all negociation. Such an answer roused the indignant ire of those Deputies whose patriotism yet remained unshaken, but it chilled with affright the majority of those would be patriots—who with the miseries of France before their eyes meditated only the means of personally eluding the consequences of the ordinance which declared Paris in a state of siege. The proclamation voted in the morning, and which some journalists had the hardihood to print, divested of those expressions of servility, with which the fears of its authors had encumbered it, was brought in at the same time. Here I have new instances of weakness to register; the proclamation, feeble and void of colouring as it was, awakened the terrors of Messieurs Villemain, Sebastiani, and Bertin-de-Vaux; they no longer

dared to avow it, and retired, in defiance of the most pressing remonstrances from several of their colleagues who implored them not to abandon their country when on the brink of a precipice.

Meanwhile the patriots had again carried the Hotel de Ville: and the Swiss and other guards had retreated over the bodies of the dying which overspread the *Place de Grève*, the quays and the bridges. The Deputies were reduced to ten when this happy news was brought to them. It re-animated the expiring patriotism of a few, and M. Guizot himself proposed signing the proclamation with the names of all the Deputies, absent as well as present, whose opinions were known to favour the liberal side. Against this step M. Sebastiani who had re-appeared in the saloon, again protested; and the measure so long delayed would probably have been altogether rejected or at least adjourned anew, had not M. Lafitte with that cool self-denial and truly civic courage which characterise him, resolved the question by saying: "Let us adopt this proposition, Gentlemen; should we be vanquished they will belie us, and prove that we were only eight; if on the other hand we are conquerors, be satisfied, the signatures will be matter of emulation." The declara-

tion was adopted, and sanctioned by sixty three parliamentary names of presumed patriotism, out of the four hundred and thirty who compose the Chamber of Deputies. The name of M. Dupin was inserted but afterwards erased upon the observation, by M. Mauguin, that it would expose them to inevitable and annoying gainsayings.

Another meeting was appointed for eight in the evening at M. Andry Puyraveau's. A meeting which reproduced all the traits of courage and of timid weakness that had marked its predecessors. A controversy that I can never forget arose between Messieurs Lafayette, de Laborde, Lafitte, Mauguin and Andry de Puyraveau, on one side, Sebastiani and Mechin on the other. The former demanded that putting an end to such disgraceful tergiverstation, the Deputies present in Paris, in full costume and mounting the tricoloured cockade should manfully place themselves at the head of the people; the latter still presumed to talk of legal order, of mediation, and concessions to be obtained from Charles X. This was too much for the Republican soul of Lafayette: he hastily rose and demanded of his colleagues what post they assigned him in the name of the country: for he was ready to assume it on the instant. The dis-

sentients had retreated, and the patriotic Deputies reduced to five, but resolved gloriously to raise the tricoloured standard, separated under agreement to meet again at five in the morning, at M. Lafittes; it was now midnight.

What a night was that from the 28th to the 29th of July! Never did a more beautiful sky overcanopy a more heroic people! A reflection from the night of Pharsalia animated that sombre and magnificent scene. All the inhabitants of that great city are awake, all are in agitation, all under arms, or working at the barricades, yet the stupendous silence that envelopes all Paris, is interrupted only by the hollow sound of the pick-axe loosening the pavements, the groans of the wounded, whom some friendly arm is conveying to the paternal roof, the *who goes there?* of the citizen-soldier, or the long watch-word, *stand on your guard*, whispered every quarter of an hour from one to another, through a hundred thousand men stirring for liberty: No! the people never appeared so great.

Lafayette devoted this solemn night to the inspection of the barricades, which the instinct, the foresight of the populace had established on every threatened point; and, as he passed each

of these fortifications, he could not withhold his expressions of admiration for a train of military dispositions which would have done honour to the prudence of Vauban. "Who," he would exclaim, "has taught them the art of war in one day, in one night?" Between one and two in the morning, an old man, who could with difficulty walk, and was supported by two or three persons, presented himself before the barricade which cut off the street *Cadet* from that of the *Faubourg Montmartre.* Here a scene occurred, to describe which I shall borrow the picturesque recital of a journal* which gave it with admirable fidelity. "Halt there!" cried the centinel; "corporal, come and reconnoitre."—The corporal was a mechanic. "Come to the post you trampers, and tell us what business you have to be walking about at this hour." The group marched to the post, and there each of the strangers was examined, and they were found to consist of a man of advanced age, and venerable figure, before whom many barricades must have already yielded; and three other persons who appeared to be acting under his orders, as aides-de-camp: all this appeared very sus-

* The Tribune.

picious to the commandant, who strictly questioned the old man. The latter replied, "Captain, you see me overwhelmed with heartfelt emotion by the spectacle you present to me; come, and embrace me, and you will know that I am one of your old comrades." The commandant hesitated.—It is "General Lafayette!" said some one, and all threw themselves into his arms, but the commandant recovering his composure, exclaimed, *to arms, gentlemen!* They were instantly ranged in order of battle, and the general passed in review as he might have done by a regularly disciplined army.

CHAPTER IV.

Battle in the Morning of the 29th.—Aspect of Paris.—Heroism, Probity, and Humanity of the Patriots.—Lafayette surrounded by Royal troops.—Meeting at M. Lafitte's.—Victory declares for the People.—The Deputies who were converted to the cause of Liberty by this news.—Aspect of M. Lafitte's Hotel.—Some private details.—Lafayette repairs to the Hotel de Ville.—Picture of this new Head-Quarters.—Installation of the Municipal Committee.—Its first Measures.—Proclama- of Lafayette to the Army.

THE battle was renewed at daybreak; Lafayette, returning to his hotel through the *Rue de Surène*, was for some moments inpeded there by the royalist corps, who fired indiscriminately on all who made their appearance. The general was fortunate enough to escape the danger, and afterwards taking advantage of a retrograde movement effected by one of the enemy's posts, lost no time in repairing to M. Lafitte's, where he was accompanied by his grandson, Jules de Lasterie, Messieurs Audry de Puyraveau, Colonel Carbonel,

and Captain, now Colonel Poque. Cannon and musquetry thundered in every street contiguous with that which Lafayette was traversing on foot. It was affecting to witness the recognition of this veteran of liberty by the populace, who confined their joyful acclamations of *vive Lafayette*, to a whisper, lest they should point him out to the vengeance of Charles X.'s soldiers, and eagerly opened their shops, that the barricades might offer no obstruction to his progress. In this manner, after encountering a thousand dangers, and a thousand testimonies of the popular solicitude, the general at length reached M. Lafitte's hotel, where he found assembled many of his colleagues, and several deputations of brave citizens, who waited to conduct him to the Hotel de Ville, recently reconquered, and definitively occupied by the patriots.

I have already said, that at daybreak, hostilities were furiously renewed between the people and and the royal troops. In order to understand what took place at M. Lafitte's, and to appreciate the new face which *Messieurs*, the Deputies were about to assume, it is important to recapitulate the turn which the military operations had taken on that decisive morning, and previous to the meeting of the five and thirty or forty members of the

Chamber, who, at eleven o'clock assembled at the house of the honourable M. Lafitte.

Innumerable partial skirmishes had recommenced with the dawn, and, with the exception of the Hotel de Ville, the avenues of the Place de Grève and the Boulevards, St. Denis, and St. Martin, from whence the enemy had been repulsed over night, the combat was general on every point which had been the theatre of struggle during the 28th. There, around the barricades, in the streets, in the houses, on the porticos of the churches, were profusely re-enacted those deeds of heroism, of magnanimity, of contempt for life, which already marked the two preceding days, as an epoch the most brilliant that ever ennobled the human race; the most glorious that liberty and philosophy can boast. Where shall we look for a pen that can retrace, that can even reduce to credibility, the immeasurably sublime incidents, each of which would singly suffice to immortalize a century, but which on that day were obscured by that mass of absorbing achievements which leaves in relief nothing but an entire population radiant with courage and virtue. Here are barricades rising as if by enchantment behind the soldiers, who are attacking other barricades which

arrest their progress; there are women hurling from the windows, paving stones, furniture, and flaming brands, in contempt of the balls which are flying to strike them beside the cradles of their infants; children waving the tri-coloured flag * amidst the shower of bullets, or rushing in the adverse squadrons to stab the horse of a cuirassier whose rider is above their reach. I saw some creeping under the feet of the horses, to feel with the point of a foil for the termination of the enemy's cuirass, and thus killing those iron-clad soldiers, whose weight alone was sufficient to crush their pigmy opponents; I saw others, clinging to the stirrup of a gens-d'arme, and cut

* In the vestibule of the Chateau de la Grange, a trophy is displayed which recalls some of the splendid actions of that incomparable period. It is composed of the colours of the Swiss guard captured in the engagement; the flag taken at the bridge of Arcole, and stained with the blood of the heroic child who sacrificed his life to his prize; the standard which was borne by the wounded of July at the first review, and which they presented to Lafayette; other tri-coloured flags offered by the national guards of the Departments; old flags of 1789; the standard of the famous 8th hussars of the revolution, an American and a Polish flag, and two small pieces of ordnance, with the inscription: *presented by the people of Paris.* The men of July love above all things to dwell on these recollections.

down while endeavouring to discharge a pocket pistol at his breast.

And to contrast with these miracles of courage, how many were the acts of generosity and humanity! The enemy wounded, or a prisoner, is no longer an enemy; he is a fellow-citizen, a brother whom the people confound with their defenders,

* It was a boy of sixteen, armed with a double-barrelled gun, and a pair of pistols, who first opened the door of the Louvre to the people; this brave youth, pierced with a dozen or fifteen wounds, was carried into the church of St. Germain l'Auxerrois, which had been converted into a hospital, and taken care of, and God has doubtless preserved him to us, for few are more worthy of his protection.

Another boy of the same age, a pupil of the Orphan Institution, named Pierre Charles Petit-pere, was also the first to scale another gate of the Louvre, in face of the fire of the Royal and Swiss Guards. Fortunate enough to escape uninjured, when the palace had surrendered, he joined the engagement in the Rue de Grenelle St. Honoré; here a ball, passing through his left hand, broke his right arm, which it was found necessary to amputate, and the young hero fell, exclaiming, *Vive la Charte! Vive la France!*

Near him, another youth, of eighteen, named Charles Bourgeois, a locksmith from Rocroi, in the Department of Ardennes, climbed the colonade, armed with unloaded pistols, (powder failing him), to plant upon it the tri-coloured flag; five Swiss pursued him, and inflicted bayonet-wounds, but could not destroy him.

The loss sustained by the royal troops has never been correctly ascertained. That of the patriots amounted to about 6,000 men; 1,000 or 1,200 killed, the remainder wounded.

and on whom they lavish equal solicitude. Who can ever forget those excellent women, who so eagerly in their own houses, at the corners of the streets, under the very shots, every where, employed themselves in bandaging in turn, the mechanic just mutilated by a royalist ball, and the soldier who had struck that brother or friend! And when at length the fortune of the day was decided, what an affecting spectacle was afforded by the number of private houses, churches, and theatres which civic piety had transformed into hospitals and surgeries. At every step might be seen the mustachio of a wounded Swiss, between the pallets of two young patriots who had treated him as a friend, and to whom the surgeons extended the same assistance.

Meanwhile, after a furious conflict, all the probabilities of victory declared for the people. Already several battalions of the line had deserted the royalist ranks; the Guards and Swiss alone fought with pertinacity, but driven successively from every post they had occupied in the heart of the capital, they drew towards the Louvre and Tuileries. On the other hand, the patriots seeing themselves deserted by the Deputies whose courage they had so repeatedly and futilely endea-

voured to arouse, had on the Wednesday evening conceived the project of proclaiming a provisional government, which, with their secret concurrence, was composed of Messieurs Lafayette, Gerard, and Choiseul. Whenever any credulous citizens presented themselves at the Hotel de Ville, to communicate with this fictitious authority, the sentinels answered: "*No one can pass; the provisional government is in conference.*" This government, which held its real seat only in the imagination of a few patriots, produced the happiest effects on the public mind. Entire companies of National Guards re-appeared in uniform, under arms, and with drums at their head. The people, emboldened by these rallying symptoms, and persuaded that they were not now abandoned to themselves, rushed with confidence against the bands of absolutism; the popular aggression assumed on all points a regularity of action; numerous attacking columns were formed and marched upon the enemy, commanded by the students of the Polytechnic school, actual generals at twenty years of age, as a citizen poet has so well remarked; in short, the Parisians flew to the combat as to certain victory: their success was no longer doubtful.

Such was the situation of affairs at eleven in the morning of the 29th, when the meeting appointed at M. Lafitte's assembled; and it may be readily believed that it proved more numerous than those of the preceding days. The night had operated singular convictions, and certain Deputies who, but the night before, had departed determined *legitimates*, returned indignant, incensed, furious, at the horrible obstinacy with which the Bourbons persisted in shedding the blood of *their subjects:* it was atrocious. With such sentiments reappeared successively Messieurs Sébastiani, Bertin de Vaux, Gerard, Dupin senior, Guizot, and many other champions of the *respectful grievances*, the withdrawal of the ordinances, and legitimacy at any price.

From the dawn of day, or rather from over night, the residence of M. Lafitte had become the point of union for the patriots, the centre or meeting place, whence issued the few measures which they took, and all the confused and contradictory news of the events which were passing in various parts of Paris. This bank of millions, with its sumptuous apartments encumbered with wealth, and its tables covered with plate, filled as it was with an incessantly changing crowd of rich

and poor, strangers, workmen, soldiers, all surrounding these riches by day and night, without the subtraction of one crownpiece, or one coffee spoon, by men whom the most assured impunity protected, presented a most extraordinary spectacle. Frequently without a waistcoat, and without shoes, harassed with fatigue, overcome with indignation, these soldiers of liberty would demand cartridges,* orders, commanders, sometimes even a morsel of bread; but they saw neither the gold nor the precious effects, which thrown about pell mell, might have tempted their heroic poverty. I repeat that the people, the true people of the barricades, never appeared to so much advantage.

It was also to M. Lafitte's that the patriots of the neighbouring departments hastened for instructions, which the honourable Deputy thus briefly summoned up: "*Promote insurrection, and, if necessary, come to the assistance of Paris.*" Such, for example, were those received by the Mayor of Rouen, who, on the first news of the ordinances, had come to offer to the capital the concurrence

* An abundant distribution of cartridges, brought from the barracks of the *Rue Verte* to M. Lafitte's house in wine hampers, was made to the people on the morning of Thursday.

of the patriotic city over which he presided. The brave citizen returned immediately, accompanied by the honourable M. Carel, to incite the city of Rouen to insurrection; which determination was, under the circumstances, equally prompt and noble. The despatches, intercepted by the patriots, the demands for safe conduct, and the passports claimed by the foreign ambassadors, were also addressed to M. Lafitte, to whose house were even brought some of the prisoners taken from the royal troops. Of this number were, amongst others, three officers of the general staff, Messrs. Roux, de Seran, and another, who, grateful for the hospitality which had been granted them, and for the pains which had been taken to save their lives; acknowledged to their host that at the moment they fell into the hands of the Parisians, they were deliberating at the quarters of the general staff upon the measures to be taken in order to send two hundred soldiers, disguised in the habits of the people, to seize him, M. Lafitte, and conduct him to the foot of the column, where he was to be instantly shot. After being detained forty-eight hours in the apartments of the man they had condemned, these summary despatchers of justice received disguises from him, by the help of which

they might quit his house, and mingle in the crowd.

It was in the midst of this tumult that the meeting of the 29th took place, at which thirty-eight or forty deputies were present. It opened under the Presidency of M. Lafitte, who, after having explained the state of the national im pulse, and urged the necessity of directing it, gave way to M. Mauguin. The latter spoke with the same patriotism, the same energy, which he had displayed on the preceding days, and concluded by saying, that since they had allowed the people to get so much the start of them, they ought at least to endeavour to make up for lost time, by organizing a provisional government without delay. Numerous citizens, flocking from the Hotel de Ville, came incessantly to solicit this measure, without which fortune might yet change sides; uncertainty and timidity, however, still prevailed. At length Lafayette arrived, and upon his offer of taking upon himself the command of all the military forces, the resolution was carried. I ought her e to observe that General Gerard immediately declared that from this moment he asked nothing better than to serve under the orders of Lafayette; and it was agreed

that the direction of active operations should be immediately confided to him.

Lafayette demanded the formation of a civil commission, composed of deputies, but he declined the honour of appointing them himself. His colleagues, therefore, named Messrs. Mauguin, Lafitte, De Schonen, Audry de Puyraveau, Loban and Casimir Périer, as municipal commissioners, charged with the superintendence of general affairs.

Meanwhile the Louvre and the Tuileries had just been carried, after an obstinate resistance on the part of the guards and of the Swiss, and prodigies of valour on the side of the people. This people, always master of itself, walked conqueror through the abode of kings, and there, as at the residence of M. Lafitte, as at the Hotel de Ville, at St. Cloud, and every where, showed itself another Spartan army in the palace of Xerxes. As the reward of victory, this people demanded only to place a corpse on the throne of Charles X.; not an atom was disturbed in this *depôt* of luxury and costliness. Again, the 5th and 53d regiments of the line, influenced by a brother of M. Lafitte, who had the boldness to throw himself into the midst of the soldiery, had been

detached from the royalist troops, and returned to their barracks, under the condition that retaining their arms, they should not be required to turn them against their comrades.

The combat was now carried on only against the guards and the Swiss, who were retreating at all points, when the meeting of the 29th terminated, the result of which was, that Lafayette, honoured with the confidence of the people and the approbation of his colleagues, commenced his progress towards the Hotel de Ville. This progress, partly triumphal, partly warlike, presented one of the grandest spectacles which can be offered to the admiration of man. We may figure to ourselves an immense crowd of citizens, armed and unarmed, carrying in triumph the veteran of liberty; the confused cries of *Vive la Nation! Vive Lafayette!* mingling with the uproar of a thousand partial combats, still existing at the barricades, in the streets, and in the houses; we may conceive the acclamations of a people who, having been left for three days to themselves, see at length a generalissimo appear, bringing to their recollection fifty years of battles fought in the cause of liberty; we may imagine five hundred thousand men, women, and children;

lining the streets, hanging from the windows, and crowding the roofs, while their handkerchiefs wave in the air, and the city reverberates with the exclamations of hope and joy; our imagination may paint all this, and we shall still have but an imperfect idea of the popular delirium which saluted the passage of Lafayette.

At the moment that the *cortége*, advancing slowly amidst these condensed masses, reached the *Rue aux Fers*, a cloud of tri-coloured ribbons covered the whole group, in the middle of which was Lafayette. The General hastened to hoist the three colours, as did every body who could obtain a portion, however small, of this patriotic trifle. At *La Grève* the people, as homage to Lafayette, presented some of their wounded, whom he pressed to his bosom. Arrived, at length, at the Hotel de Ville, where he was received by General Dubourg, who had established himself there before him, and by Colonel Zimmer, who had already there organized a general staff, his first care was to unfurl the tri-coloured flag upon the tower of this ancient edifice, and to cover the walls of the capital with the following proclamation :—

" My dear fellow-citizens and brave comrades,

" The confidence of the people of Paris once more calls me to the command of the popular force. I have accepted with devotion and joy the powers that have been confided to me, and, as in 1789, I feel myself strong in the approbation of my honourable colleagues, this day assembled in Paris. I shall make no profession of my faith, my sentiments are well known. The conduct of the Parisian population, in these last days of trial, has made me more than ever proud of being their leader.

" Liberty shall triumph, or we will perish together!

" Vive la Liberté! Vive la Patrie!

" LAFAYETTE."

Behold then the veteran Lafayette installed in this same Hotel de Ville, where, forty years before another generation had placed him at the head of the revolution of 1789. Some person being willing to point out the way to him: " I know every step," said he, laughing, as he continued to ascend the great staircase. What a picturesque scene is presented at these new head-

quarters of liberty! What glorious remembrances have here just connected themselves with still more glorious achievements! These immense halls crowded with citizens of every class and of all ages; these combatants intoxicated with victory and adorned with wounds; these fleur-de-lyed draperies coolly reduced to rags; the bust of Louis XVIII overturned; that of Charles X ground to powder; these citizen soldiers hastening from all quarters to announce the defeat of the enemies of liberty, the capture of the Louvre, of the Tuileries, of the barracks;* carrying hither the banners, and dragging the cannons which they have torn from the soldiers of Charles X; orders dictated in haste and expedited in all directions, for following up the royalists, already harrassed in their retreat; these guards with naked arms; the whole Polytechnic school under arms; posts established at all points; the *Place de Grève* covered with caissons and the wrecks of the companions of war; elsewhere pious hands already digging the

* How great must Lafayette's emotion have been when he learnt at the same moment that of two friends M.M. Joubert and Levasseur, with whom he had put himself in communication on his arrival in Paris, the one had just taken the royal residences, and the other was severely wounded!

graves for the heroes of liberty; in fine, that amalgamation of a popular commotion and a regular battle against warlike troops and generals, resolving itself into a multitude of attacks of posts and partial successes: all this enlivened and animated by the consciousness of a splendid triumph, formed a spectacle which the pen of a Tacitus or a Sallust would alone be worthy of recording.

Meanwhile the commission arrived at the Hotel de Ville and took charge of the immediate wants of the service, while the Generals Gerard and Pajol visited in succession the various points of defence; for a general and decisive attack from the enemy was still expected. Such was in fact, the intention of the court, which was renounced, after its columns had been moved forward, only on a sight of the measures which had been adopted to receive them. In the night, between Thursday and Friday, the popular bivouacks were still disturbed by some light parties, but actual battle had ceased in Paris, and hostilities were but faintly continued in the Bois de Boulogne and on the lines of retreat of the royal troops, which were concentering upon St. Cloud.

In this state of affairs Lafayette's first care was

to address to the army the following proclamation, with the view of tranquillizing it upon the sentiments borne towards it by the nation:

"BRAVE SOLDIERS,

"The inhabitants of Paris do not hold you responsible for the orders which have been given you; come over to us, we will receive you as brothers; come and range yourselves under the orders of that brave general who has shed his blood for the defence of the country under so many various circumstances, General Gerard. The cause of the army could not be long separated from the cause of the nation and of liberty, is not its glory our dearest patrimony! Neither can we ever forget that the defence of our independence and our liberty is our first duty as citizens. Let us then be friends because our interests and our rights are in common. General Lafayette declares in the name of the whole population of Paris, that it cherishes no sentiment either of hatred or hostility against the French soldiers: it is ready to fraternize with all those who will return to the cause of the country and of liberty; and it ardently invokes the moment when citizens and soldiers, united under the same ban-

ner, and in the same sentiments, may at length realize the happiness and glorious destinies of our fine country.

"Vive la France!

"GENERAL LAFAYETTE."

Thus ended active operations within the radius of the capital. I now return to the Hotel de Ville,

CHAPTER V.

The Orleanist party — M. Laffitte at its head — His efforts during thirteen years to place the Duke of Orleans on the throne —His secret communications with Neuilly, in the night of Tuesday, and the subsequent days—The Duke of Orleans passes the night in a kiosk in the centre of his park, to avoid the emissaries of St. Cloud—The arrival of envoys from Charles X at the Hotel-de-Ville, and the meeting at Laffitte's—Their reception —Meeting at M. Laffitte's on Friday—The presence of some Peers—The deputation meet at the Palais Bourbon—They call the Duke of Orleans to the lieutenancy of the kingdom—He does not accept it till after a secret consultation with the Prince de Talleyrand—Anecdote.

THE only real government, the only lever which could elevate the masses, that which alone possessed the confidence of the people, and could restore stability to society, shaken to its foundations, was seated at the Hotel-de-Ville. The battle was over; nothing remained but to consolidate the fruits of victory; was it surreptitiously obtained?

this point I leave my readers to decide. I do not judge; I merely relate. But in order perfectly to understand ulterior facts, it is indispensable to cast an eye upon other events of the preceding days.

From the moment of the publication of the ordinances some men devoted, during many years, to the interests of the House of Orleans, had conceived the project of substituting the younger for the elder branch of the reigning house, and all their proceedings, during the three days' struggle, tended towards this result.

M. Laffitte was especially the patron of this *dénouement**. The Duke of Orleans was at Neuilly; between the court, which committed the error of not summoning him to St. Cloud, and Paris, to the insurrection of which he was a total stranger.

* This idea was of many years standing. The discourse pronounced by the deputy of the Seine, on the 10th of February 1817, on the subject of the project of law relative to the finances, and in which he maintained that the English are indebted for their liberty to the revolution which passed the crown to William III, is still remembered. Not only was this bold opinion then made the text of the most violent attacks upon M. Laffitte by the journals of the restoration, but it gave occasion to the Prime Minister, the Duke of Richelieu, to demand of the honorable deputy a categorical answer, whether or no, his intention had been to excite a movement in favor of the Duke of Orleans.

So early as eight o'clock on Wednesday morning, M. Laffitte, who had arrived only a few hours previously, sent for M. Oudart, secretary to the Duchess of Orleans, and despatched him to Neuilly, with notice to the Prince of the meeting of deputies which was to take place at noon, at the house of M. Audry de Puyraveau, and to entreat his Royal Highness to be careful to avoid the emissaries of St. Cloud. This opening, which no doubt was not confined to a simple message of prudential advice, was made on Wednesday morning, a period when every thing was still in suspense. His Royal Highness therefore, kept his thoughts close, and said little. The Duke of Orleans, however, was sensible of the tender solicitude of M. Laffitte, and in pure condescension to the recommendation of his banker, condemned himself to the inconvenience of passing the entire night in a kiosk concealed in the middle of the park, around which vigilant and faithful friends were on the watch. On Thursday morning M. Laffitte again sent M. Oudart to Neuilly; his importunities were now more pressing; he informed the Prince of all that had passed in the meetings of the preceding day, of the exasperation of the public spirit against the elder branch, of the singular importance of his present

situation, and of the necessity in which the Duke of Orleans stood of choosing, within twenty-four hours between a crown and a passport. It is said that already the choice was no longer doubtful; and that this time his Royal Highness's reply was such as to satisfy his partisans upon the cruel sacrifice they exacted of his patriotism; in fact, the die was cast, and the Duke of Orleans submitted to place upon his citizen head, that crown of thorns, up to which, as every one knows, he had never elevated his ambition. Therefore, had M. Laffitte, who, during the whole of Wednesday, and the morning of Thursday, exchanged several messages with the Duke of Orleans, already dexterously prepared the minds of the deputies and of several members of the provisional government, in favor of the lieutenancy of the kingdom by the Duke of Orleans, when Lafayette, and the municipal commission installed themselves in the Hotel-de-Ville.

While the military chiefs were taking measures to consolidate the victory achieved by the people alone, and the municipal commission, with the commissioners entrusted with the different departments were re-organizing the general service, a fraction of the chamber of deputies, in a meeting at M. Lafitte's, were employing themselves in

arranging a new order of things. A deputation composed of M.M. d'Argout, Semonville, and Vitrolles, had presented itself at the Hotel-de-Ville, to treat in the name of Charles X, and to announce to the commission that the ordinances were withdrawn, and a new ministry nominated, which included M.M. Casimir Perier and Gérard. These envoys were introduced to the municipal commission, and the presence of Lafayette was requested. The answer was not delayed: the people had fought to the cry of, *Down with the Bourbons*, and it was too late;—the Bourbons had ceased to reign. This was what M.M. Lafayette, Audry de Puyraveau, and Mauguin formally declared to the ambassadors from St. Cloud, in the presence of M. Perier, who kept silence. The royal commissaries were about to retire, when M. de Sémonville having addressed himself to Lafayette, the latter asked him if the Bourbons had yet assumed the tri-colored cockade; and on his answer that it was a serious consideration, the general replied, that they might now dispense with any pain this act might cost them, as it was already too late: all was over.

The next day, M. de Sussy, the bearer of a

letter from M. de Mortemart, the new prime minister of Charles X, and an enclosure containing the recall of the ordinances, found Lafayette surrounded by his officers, and a crowd of citizens. "We need be under no constraint," said he to M. de Sussy, "I am here in the midst of my friends, and have no secrets with them;" and opening the paper, the contents of which he read with a loud voice: "Well!" said he, to the people, "what answer shall we make?" "No more negociations!" was the cry from all sides. "You hear," continued Lafayette; "it is too late."

Sometime afterwards, a patriot orator, sent to some regiments which covered the court, having brought back information that the commander of the royal troops, on the bridge of St. Cloud, complained that since the recall of the ordinances, no explanation had been made to them, and asked a categorical answer, Lafayette sent him back immediately with a billet couched in the following terms:

"I am asked for an explicit answer on the situation of the royal family, since its last aggression upon the public liberty, and the victory

of the Parisian population; I shall give it frankly: it is that all conciliation is impossible, and that the royal family has ceased to reign."

"LAFAYETTE."

Since their propositions obstinately rejected at the Hotel-de-Ville, the commissioners of Charles X hoped to find a better reception at M. Laffitte's. About nine or ten o'clock in the evening M. d'Argout presented himself to the members of the chamber, who were sitting at the house of this deputy, and declared to them, that he was commissioned to announce to them, in the name of the King, his master, the recall of the ordinances, and the formation of a ministry composed of characters more acceptable to the country; that matters were therefore re-established as before the violation of the charter, and that Charles X made no doubt but the national representation would interpose its mediation to bring the people back to their allegiance. The answer of M. Laffitte was as peremptory as had been that of M. Lafayette, at the Hotel-de-Ville. "War has decided," said he to M. d'Argout; "Charles X is no longer King of France." M. d'Argout withdrew, after vainly insisting upon the guarantees of

inviolability with which the constitution still surrounded the person of the King. Some moments afterwards, M. Forbin-Janson came to announce that his brother-in-law, the Duke de Mortemart, claimed a safe conduct, to present himself before the meeting of the deputies. This demand was acceded to, and M. Laffitte was solely charged to answer the overtures of the new President of Charles X's council of ministers; but M. de Mortemart did not appear.

From this moment the cause of the elder branch of the Bourbons was irrevocably lost, not only in the will of the people, but in the thoughts of the two centres of action, which had possessed themselves of the direction of affairs. The Hotel-de-Ville, and the Laffitte-meeting were agreed as to the definitive expulsion of the reigning family, but by no means so as to the form of government ulteriorly to be adopted, or the new dynasty to be elected. These capital questions were subjects of warm controversy at the Hotel-de-Ville, while at Laffitte's, an almost entire unanimity prevailed upon the choice of the Duke of Orleans, or rather upon the proclamation of this choice, already prepared by the efforts and the secret manœuvres of the honorable banker.

Before returning to Lafayette and the municipal commission, I should report all that had passed at the house of M. Laffitte, in the interest of Louis-Philippe. By an early hour on Friday morning, some intimate associates, such as M.M. Thiers, Laraguy and Mignet, had met there to concert the means of insuring the success of this great intrigue. There, even before any inquiry into the will of the deputies a proclamation was drawn up which called the Duke of Orleans to the office of Lieutenant-General of the kingdom; there, also the measures were agreed upon the most likely to secure the influential journals in the influence of this combination. This little Camarilla of a new description quitted the saloons of M. Laffitte only to work upon a meeting of patriots, held at the house of the *restaurateur* Loinlier, in which it was the general opinion, that as the people alone had conquered, the people ought to be chiefly consulted.

About ten o'clock, almost all the deputies present in Paris met at M. Laffitte's; some peers also joined them, amongst whom was the Duke de Broglie, who spoke at length upon the popular exasperation and the dangers of a republic. These dangers, purposely exaggerated by M. Dupin,

produced a pretty general anxiety, of which M. Laffitte skilfully took advantage to propose the election of the Duke of Orleans, as the only means of arresting the torrent and fixing all uncertainties. This opinion, now officially expressed for the first time, produced some astonishment and provoked some contradiction, but M. Dupin supported it with so much eloquence and energy, that it became immediately evident, that a measure, which it was affected merely to offer for deliberation, was no other than a project already agreed upon between the Prince and a party headed by M. Laffitte. Numerous deputies were however still undecided and the discussion became more animated; when the adroit champion of the House of Orleans observed with solemnity, that the place for the deputies of France, re-constructing the government of a great empire, was the Palais Bourbon and not the cabinet of a private individual. This recommendation prevailed, and it was determined that in two hours the deputies should assemble in the Hall of Sitting of the chamber. The Orleanists made good use of this interval in redoubling their persuasions and seductions.

Nevertheless, at the opening of this memorable

sitting, opinions appeared more than ever divided; all systems, the republican excepted, here found partisans; by turns the Duke of Orleans, the Duke of Bordeaux, the Duke of Angoulême were named and even Charles X, who, incredible fact! united the evident majority of voices. It was at this decisive moment, that M. Sebastiani was heard to exclaim, on the subject of the tricolored flag displayed on the Hotel-de-Ville, that "The white flag is now the only national standard!" It was also at this moment that M. de Sussy, repulsed from the Hotel-de-Ville, came to present to the chamber the recall of the ordinances and the formation of a new ministry, insisting, but in vain as may be imagined, that M. Laffitte should transmit this nomination to the parties for whom they were destined.

The principal object of the meeting was to determine upon the declaration which was to call the Duke of Orleans to the Lieutenancy of the Kingdom. A committee had been directed to present a report to the chamber on this important measure, and some members of the chamber of peers had joined themselves to it; the Duke de Broglie was one of these. A warm discussion arose in the mixed committee upon the principle

on which the throne should be declared vacant; the peers and some deputies insisting on the absolute necessity of taking for its exclusive basis, the abdication of Charles X and the Duke of Angoulême.

Meanwhile great agitation was manifested, both within and without the palace of the legislature. New and secret machinations were spoken of, for adjourning the decision of the chamber; it was affirmed that a considerable personage, recently elevated by Charles X, to the presidency of the council of ministers, had been met on the road to Saint-Cloud, and in fact, this report had been confirmed at the Hotel-de-Ville, by several patriots; upon whose depositions, an order of arrest had been issued againt M. Casimir Périer. Whatever may be the truth of this matter, the uneasiness was general, when the president of the chamber M. Laffitte, informed of what was passing in the committee, and yielding to the impatience exhibited on all sides, sent a secretary to invite the committee to an immediate return to the chamber, and to admonish it, that if it hesitated longer, the deputies would deliberate without hearing its report. This bold and daring measure put an end to the representations of the legitimatists, and to

the uncertainty of the fearful. The proclamation was drawn up, such as it appeared in the *Moniteur* of the following day.

M. de Mortemart to whom a *rendez-vous* had been given at the chamber, did not appear there. The parliamentary mind, however, was still so much inclined to carlism, that it is reasonable to believe, that the presence of this diplomatist might yet have persuaded the majority into a determination, by which either the chamber or the revolution would have been irrevocably lost. But, however this might have been, the address of the deputies, calling the Duke of Orleans to the office of Lieutenant-General of the Kingdom was signed, and the victory remained with this prince.

A commission was charged to present this message to the Duke of Orleans, which repaired to the Palais-Royal about eight in the evening: the prince was still at Neuilly. The commission wrote to him, to inform him of the nature of its mission, and to transmit the debate which had just taken place in the deputies. His Royal Highness hastened his return to Paris, where he arrived on foot, at eleven o'clock, accompanied by Colonel Berthoix, now aid-de-camp to His Majesty. At eight o'clock the following morning the members

of the deputation, composed of MM. Gallot, Bérard, Sebastiani, Benjamin Delessert, Duchaffau, and Mathieu Dumas, were informed that the prince was ready to receive them; and at nine o'clock they were admitted to his presence.

I call the attention of my readers to all the circumstances of this interview, because they are of unexceptionable authenticity and of a nature to throw a strong light on some ulterior events.

M. Bérard spoke first, and developed at much length the motives of general interest, as respected the nation, and of private interest as regarded the prince himself, which according to the orator, imposed on the Duke of Orleans, the necessity of acquiescing in the proposal of the deputies, by accepting the reins of government, under the provisional title of Lieutenant-General of the Kingdom.

M. Sébastiani was the first to maintain the contrary opinion, and contended upon arguments drawn from the respect due to legitimacy, from the precarious situation of affairs and from the possibility of the return of the Royal Family, that the Duke of Orleans should unhesitatingly decline the offer that had been made to him. M. Benjamin Delessert, adopting the opinion of M. Bérard, whose arguments he repeated more earnestly and

pressingly, conjured the prince to save France from the anarchy and civil war which threatened her, and his own house from the impending ruin, of which his refusal would infallibly be the signal. M. Delessert never before spoke so convincingly, so persuasively.

Undecided and manifestly under the alternate tyranny of hope and fear, the Duke of Orleans dwelt tediously on his family ties with Charles X, and concluded by declaring that he could come to no resolution without consulting a person who was then absent, and his Royal Highness retired to his cabinet, where M. Dupin was already waiting and where M. Sébastiani was shortly summoned. Who was this eminently sagacious personage to whose wisdom the destinies of France were subordinate? It was M. de Talleyrand. In fact, M. Sébastiani secretly repaired to the house of the ex-great-chamberlain of Charles X, now become as the reader perceives, sovereign arbiter of the revolution of July. Here he also found a brave admiral, whose royalist sentiments were beyond doubt, but whose heart bled for the calamities of his country. M. Sébastiani placed the declaration of the deputies in the hands of M. de Talleyrand, who replied: *Well, it must be accepted.* These facts, I repeat, are strictly accurate.

Now let these transactions be compared with the primary motive which determined the subsequent retreat of M. Laffitte, and we shall perhaps find a key to many circumstances over which a fearful mystery yet hovers.* Be this as it may, after an interval of three quarters of an hour, the Duke of Orleans, accompanied by MM. Sébastiani and Dupin, rejoined the committee, and declared that he accepted the office of Lieutenant General of the Kingdom.

* It is well known that M. Lafitte retired in consequence of the discovery made by himself, that some diplomatic despatches had been withheld from the council of ministers of which he was President.—(See Chapter VIII).

CHAPTER VI.

Repugnance of the Hotel-de-Ville to the nomination of the Duke of Orleans as Lieutenant-General.—Advice of Lafayette in these circumstances.—His wishes for the Convocation of the Primary Assemblies.—Why he did not proclaim the Republic.—*Idem*, Henry V, with a Regency which was offered him.—*Idem*, Napoleon II.—Letter of Joseph Bonaparte to Lafayette.—Answer of Lafayette.

Meanwhile what was passing at the Hotel-de-Ville? There, the men who had just accomplished the revolution, and especially the youths still under arms, loudly demanded a re ublic, and Lafayette for its president. Numerous meetings of patriots urged him to seize the reins of power before the intrigues, which they saw in motion, should obtain them. But though penetrated with gratitude, Lafayette swerved not from those disinterested principles which had regulated his whole political life. He repelled with affection but with firmness the so-

licitation by which he was on all sides assailed. I even remember that amidst successive tides of opinion which surrounded him, and the contradictory offers that were made to him, some men less republican than the honorable member said to him: —"Well if they want a king, why not have you?" "To that question," said Lafayette, "I may reply in the words of Marshal Saxe, when it was proposed that he should become a member of the French Academy:—*It would become me as well as a ring would become a cat.*"

The earnest wish of Lafayette, and that which he repeatedly expressed, was the appointment of a provisional government, until the primary assemblies should be convoked in the form prescribed by the constituent assembly, and the nation should express its sentiments respecting the form of government and the dynasty to be established, it being an understood condition that it should be in favor of the monarchical system. But this was not conformable with the ideas of the deputies; and it must be observed that they represented eighty thousand of the most notable citizens in the country, and that the invariable principles of Lafayette made him regard it as a duty to bow to this national representation, however vicious and

imperfect he might consider it. Neither must we forget the elections which occurred so shortly before the revolution of July. The press, the patriotic societies, in short, all the liberals had combined and directed their efforts to one single object, the re-election of the 221 voters of the address. The vote of France seemed to depend on this result; and, for its accomplishment, they had in some measure deified those men of principle, without, however, being deceived as to the intrinsic qualities of many of them. It was a necessity arising from circumstances. But it imparted to the re-elected deputies that absolute confidence which swayed all minds at the moment when the ordinances appeared. At that time, all France was, as it were, under the spell of the enthusiasm created by the electors. But the 221 deputies, who were the objects of this enthusiasm, were alike averse to a provisional government and to the primary assemblies wished for by Lafayette. What then was to be done? To disavow the authority, at least, the moral authority of the chamber, and to come to a rupture with it? But considering the general disposition of the public mind, this might have been a rupture with the majority of the departments, and perhaps to

confine the revolution to Paris. Would it be advisable to repel to-day, as unworthy, the men who only yesterday had been held up as the firmest supporters of liberty? But to act in this way might have appeared like an insult to the national intelligence, a separation of the cause of the provinces from that of the capital, and an excitement to civil war, which might then have strangled the revolution at its birth.

These primary considerations are too frequently lost sight of by those patriots, who, judging from events, and without looking back to the starting point, blame Lafayette for remaining faithful to his political creed, and not overcoming the resistance of a chamber, which, in the absence of every other national representation, contained the elected of the people. A minister of Charles X had called for a monarchical 5th of September. Well then! to violate the will of the chamber of deputies, in the crisis into which we had been so unexpectedly thrown, would have been considered by France as a republican twenty-fifth of July. Who is there then who would not have shrunk from the possible consequences of a national re-action? Doubtless, the victory was neutralized by intrigue; but that intrigue was invested with

the senatorial toga, and it was not for the sword of Lafayette to attack it in the very sanctuary of the national representative.

Besides, considering the Lieutenant-Generalship of the Duke of Orleans, only as a form of government, essentially provisional, it is certain that it was, more than any other, in accordance with the wishes of Lafayette. Being questioned, on the Friday morning, by the friends of his Royal Highness, he replied, that though he was not much acquainted with that prince, yet he esteemed his personal character, and the simplicity of his manners;—that he had seen him an ardent patriot in his youth; that he had never fought except under the tri-coloured flag, and that these considerations were sufficient to induce him not to oppose his being appointed Lieutenant-General.*

There still remained a choice of one of three things, viz:—a republic; Henry V, with a regency, and Napoleon II, or a regency in his name.

* The Duke de Chartres, when returning from his regiment to join his family at Neuilly, was arrested by the mayor of Mont-Rouge, who sent to enquire of Lafayette what was to be done with the prisoner. The general replied, that the Duke de Chartres was a citizen like any one else, and that nobody had a right to detain him. The prince was accordingly liberated.

These three plans had their partizans, and this seems a fitting place to answer candidly the charges with which all these parties have assailed Lafayette.

No doubt Louis Philippe himself felt the republican form of government the darling object of Lafayette, was the best that could be adopted. But in the circumstances in which the country stood, was it possible to deny the force of the melancholy impression which the word republic had left in France and the apprehensions it still inspired among the contemporaries of the reign of terror and the descendants of its numerous victims? Frightful recollections took possession of their minds. It is true they laboured under misconception; but they nevertheless pictured to themselves the revival of those revolutionary tribunals where the defence of counsel was prohibited, where a self-styled republican jury, composed of thirty, forty or even sixty judicial assassins deluged the guillotine with blood, amidst shouts of *vive la liberté!* and indiscriminately sent to the scaffold all who were distinguished for merit, talents, public services, or beauty; for even beauty was then a title of proscription. Memory dwelt with horror on the republican marriages

of Nantes;* the miseries of famine, bankruptcy, maximum, denunciation and confiscation, and those terrible days when terrorism set up as a principle of government that the tree of liberty must be watered with blood and that it was necessary to cast coin on the *Place de la Révolution.* These recollections of a too recent period, alarmed persons who did not reflect that almost all these atrocities had been committed by counter-revolutionists, at the instigation of foreigners and for the purpose of sullying the sacred names of liberty, equality and republicanism. It was also recollected that even under the republic when subjected to better principles by the constitution of the year 3, and even under the directors, France still groaned under violence, peculation and corruption, and finally, that the country had been reduced to the extremity of regarding the 18th brumaire as the only security against the return of jacobin terrorism. Thus it was evident that ridiculous and unjust prejudice, and the habit of confounding the republic with excesses to which

* The name given to the drownings at Nantes, where a man and woman used to be tied together and thrown into the water in skuttle boats.

it served as a pretext, had created in the minds of the people a decided aversion to that form of government. They would not be convinced that if in the ages of antiquity and in modern times in France, Venice and Genoa, the word republic had had a signification synonimous with terror and even slavery, its meaning was widely different in America, where on the contrary it expressed principles and represented facts diametrically the reverse of the facts and principles deplored. But the prejudice existed, and it is certain that with the exception of a few old and very rare republicans and a greater number of young men, who while they favored that form of government, had no very fixed ideas respecting the democratic conditions they wished for—it is certain, I repeat, that with those exceptions the proclamation of a republic would have excited in France almost universal alarm and opposition. Besides, would the army have been as favorable to a republic as to a prince raised to the throne by the wish of the chamber of deputies? This I think is doubtful.

The next proposition was Henry V with a regency. Having been constantly about Lafayette and honored with his confidence in that difficult

period, I can affirm that, until the last moment and even when the deputies were deliberating on the lieutenant-generalship, he received propositions for placing Henry V on the throne, and the regency was repeatedly offered to himself. But it is evident that the Carlist priesthood and nobility party looked to this plan only as a truce and a transitory means of arriving at another state of things. Besides the principle of legitimacy accorded but ill with republican institutions: Lafayette's reply was what it ought to have been.

Finally, another course was possible. It consisted in calling to the throne Napoleon II, or of establishing a regency in the name of that young Austrian Prince.*

Here I cannot better explain the reasons which

* I say Austrian, because it is certain that the fundamental principle of the court of Vienna is to educate the Princes of the house of Hapsburgh and especially the Princesses who are destined for alliances of foreign courts in the exclusive creed of Austrian interests. Maria Antoinette and the Queen of Naples, (though I am far from intending to compare the two sisters), the Arch-Duchess Governante of the Netherlands and more recently the Empress Maria Louisa, in this respect, fulfilled the same duties as Anne of Austria in the time of the regency. It is the chatechism inculcated to all who are brought up in the court of Vienna.

influenced Lafayette's determination, than by transcribing the letter which he wrote to the Count de Survilliers, Joseph Bonaparte, in answer to an overture made to him by that prince in behalf of his nephew. I beg the noble general's pardon for having availed myself of my opportunity of taking copies of these important documents, which however, I should have abstained from publishing, if the letter to which Lafayette's is an answer, had not appeared in an American Journal, with the cognizance of Prince Joseph. However, I present these documents to the partizans of Napoleon dynasty, as an explanation of Lafayette's conduct towards them, and as the expression of his personal sentiments towards that imperial family, between which and himself there have always existed and still do exist, relations of mutual kindness. But how could it be hoped that he who, throughout the course of his long life, had sacrificed his dearest affections to his political duties, would on this occasion make subservient to private considerations that which he considered as the necessary condition of the liberty and happiness of France? The following is the correspondence, from which the reader may form his own opinion.

LETTER FROM COUNT SURVILLIERS (JOSEPH BONAPARTE) TO GENERAL LAFAYETTE.

"My dear General,

"General Lallemand, who will deliver this letter, will recall me to your recollection. He will tell you with what enthusiasm the population of this country (both American and French) received the news of the glorious events of which Paris has been the theatre. The Americans were also glad to see the tricoloured flag displayed in their theatres. Did I not see at the head of affairs a name with which mine never can accord, I should be with you wholly and entirely, and as soon as General Charles Lallemand. You will recollect the conversations we had in this free and hospitable country. My sentiments and opinions are as unchangeable as yours; and those of my family are—*Every thing for the French people.* Without doubt, I cannot forget that my nephew, Napoleon II, was proclaimed by the chamber, which, in 1815, was dissolved by foreign bayonets, and also by the army which was dispersed on the banks of the Loire, according to the wish of that family whom foreigners imposed upon France, and on whom France has at last done justice; as in 1815, it did justice to

itself in quitting the country to take refuge under the cannon of the coalition. I shall never be so base as to abandon what I am bound to love; but faithful to the motto of my family—*Every thing by France, and for France*—I wish to fulfil my duty towards her, and I see in the 3,000,000 of votes which were given for us, only obligations towards the country, which are greater for me than for any other Frenchman. You know my opinions, which have long been declared. Individuals and families, in their relations with nations, can only have duties to perform; the latter have rights to exercise,—they owe justice to all.

" If the French nation should call to the head of its affairs the most obscure family, I think that we are bound to submit to its will wholly and entirely; but the nation alone has the right of destroying its own work. Governments being needful for nations, the individuals who compose governments ought, doubtless, to be subordinate to the wants of the people clearly expressed. I should have come myself to express these sentiments, had I considered my presence useful,—had the arbitrary law, dictated by the foreigner, and approved by the family imposed on our country, to neutralize its just influence on the affairs of Europe, been abolished by

the authorities whom necessity gave to France after the events of the last days of July.

" I ask then the abolition of that arbitrary law which closes France against my family, which had opened France to all the Frenchmen whom the revolution had expelled. I protest against every election made by private corporations and bodies which have not obtained from the nation those powers which it alone is entitled to give, and I declare, under all these circumstances, that I am ready to conform to the national will legally expressed, whatever that will may be, regarding every sacrifice which the welfare of the country imposes as a tribute which she has a right to require of her children, and a happiness for them to perform.

" The vessel which conveys General Charles Lallemand being on the point of sailing, I have barely time to write these lines. I address them to you, because of all the Frenchmen who have taken part in the secret struggle which existed by the force of circumstances between the nation and a government of foreigners, you are the person who has seen me, and conversed with me here, who knows my whole mind, and whose similarity of political opinions with my own has given me a full and entire confidence in your character.

"I have begged M.—— to express my wish to you, and I beg that you, General, will express to the illustrious citizens who, with you, have assisted in raising up the national colours, my sentiments which you have had the opportunity of ascertaining here, and which, in all possible hypotheses, are unalterable—*wholly for the French people.*

"The Emperor, my brother, when dying on the rock of St. Helena, dictated to General Bertrand a letter to me, in which he recommended his son to me, and bade me an eternal farewell. This letter terminates thus:—'Impress unceasingly on my son that he is before all things a Frenchman; let him take for his devise *Tout pour le peuple français.*' I have fulfilled, as far as lay in my power, the duty which this sentiment imposed on me. I know that his son is as much a Frenchman as you and I, in despite of fortune; and I hope that the moment is not far distant when he may help me to restore to France a portion of what we all owe her.

"Adieu, my dear General; my letter sufficiently proves that I render justice to the sentiments you evinced for me during the triumphal journey which you made in that nation in which I have lived for fifteen years. Liberty is not a mere chimera; it is

a blessing which a wise and moderate nation may enjoy when it will. By way of precaution, I send a duplicate of this letter. The first copy was despatched on the 10th instant.

" Be pleased to accept, my dear General, every expression of my former attachment.

" JOSEPH BONAPARTE."

GENERAL LAFAYETTE'S ANSWER TO THE COUNT DE SURVILLIERS.

Paris, Nov. 26, 1830.

" Monsieur le Comte,

" I have received the letters, which you have done me the honor to address to me, with those sentiments of affection and respect which I owe to the kindness you have at all times evinced for me. My gratitude and attachment could not but be strengthened by our late conversations, when we spoke with confidence of the past, the present, and the future.

" You must have been dissatisfied with my conduct in recent circumstances, not that I had given any pledge to you or to any one; but you must have said —' Since Lafayette conceived himself compelled by circumstances to relax in the preference he has at all times professed for purely republican

institutions, why has that concession favored another family than mine? Has he forgotten that 3,000,000 of votes acknowledged the Imperial dynasty? You see, my dear Count, I present the reproach in its full force. I have deserved it, and will now justify myself in full independence and purity of conscience.

"When the measures of Charles X and company roused the inhabitants of Paris, and public confidence placed me at the head of the patriotic movement, my first thought, after the victory, was to turn affairs to the best account for the cause of freedom and my country. You may readily suppose that no personal consideration could connect itself with this determination.

"The first condition of republican principles being to respect the general will, I was withheld from proposing a purely American constitution,—in my opinion the best of all. To do this would have been to disregard the wish of the majority, to risk civil troubles, and to kindle foreign war. If I was wrong, my mistake was at least at variance with the inclinations I have always cherished, and even, supposing me to have possessed vulgar ambition, it was contrary to what might be termed my interest.

"A popular throne, in the name of the national

sovereignty, surrounded by republican institutions, appeared to be within our attainment; this was the programme of the barricades and of the Hotel de Ville, of which I undertook to be the interpreter.

" The Chamber of Deputies, representing 80,000 electors, did not go so far as we did; but it agreed with public opinion for the expulsion of the guilty family, and it was, like Paris and the rest of France, urged to allay inquietude, and to come to a resolution.

" I might content myself with observing that your dynasty was dispersed: some were in Rome, you in America, and the Duke of Reichstadt in the hands of the Austrians; but I owe to your friendship a candid disclosure of my sentiments.

" The Napoleon system was brilliant in glory, but stamped with despotism, aristocracy, and slavery,* and if there were any event which could

* After the Emperor's departure for Waterloo, Prince Lucien had a conversation with Lafayette:—" Do you hope," said the latter, " that your brother may be corrected?" " No," replied Lucien; " two miracles have saved him—Marengo and Austerlitz: he perhaps will perform a third; but that does not depend on himself, and in case of a defeat, two parties will rise up—one for his son, and the other for the Duke of Orleans. I am for my nephew; whom are you for, General?" " Neither for the one nor

render those scourges tolerable and almost popular in France (which Heaven forbid), it would be the restoration of the imperial regime. Besides, the son of your wonderful brother has become an Austrian Prince, and you know what the Vienna cabinet is. These considerations, my dear Count, in spite of the sentiments I entertain towards you personally, did not permit me to wish for the re-establishment of a throne which during the hundred days had displayed a constant tendency to former errors.

"I scarcely knew the Duke of Orleans. Serious differences had existed between his father and me. Some family relations and civilities had not led me to visit the Palais Royal. Nevertheless, I knew, in common with the public, that there were to be found in that family, along with domestic virtues and simple tastes, little ambition, and a sentiment truly French, to which the Emperor himself had rendered justice. I recollected too the young republican of 1789, the soldier of Valmy and Gemappes, the professor in Switzerland and the tra-

the other," replyed Lafayette; "as I just now observed to an Orleanist. I remain with the people, independent of parties; and I hope that liberty may make the best possible bargain, without reference to individuals."

veller in the United States. He was called Bourbon, and that is a disagreeable name; but as a name, it was more than yours, more than that of republic, a security against war. It did not prevent the establishing and bringing into practice the principle and the sovereignty of the people—the putting arms into the hands of 2,000,000 of citizens—choosing their own officers—the completing of the liberty of the press, and the possession of popular institutions. It therefore appeared to me useful in the circumstances in which we were placed, for the sake of peace within and without, that the different shades of political opinion, with the exception of Charles X's party, should unite under this combination.

" My assent was not the effect of any prejudice or anterior affection. I must now say, that after four months of intimate acquaintance, sentiments of confidence, friendship, and the interest of a common cause have strengthened my first impressions. As to general assent, what was done was not merely the work of the chambers and the population of Paris,—of 80,000 national guards and 30,000 spectators in the Champ-de-Mars, all the deputations from the towns and villages of France, which, in consequence of my functions,

I received in detail,—in a word, multitudes of adhesions, uninstigated and unquestionable, took place, which convince us more and more that what we have done is conformable to the will of the great majority of the French people.

" I observe in one of your letters, which have all been faithfully delivered, that you suspect the Duke of Orleans of having had knowledge of a plot against the Emperor in the Isle of Elba. He is incapable of any thing of the kind; and, from what I have been told by the republican who denounced that plot, and by Madame de Stael, who continued in friendship with the Duke of Orleans, I should, independent of his known character, have been convinced that some one had calumniated him to you.

" One of my first cares, after his elevation to the throne, was to express a wish to him that you, your children, and your respectable mother, might, if you thought fit, return tranquilly to France. The idea was very cordially received by the King; but objections were started on account of the treaties with foreign Powers, which absurd and insolent as they are, would render some negociations necessary. Political circumstances have since changed; the diplomatic horizon is overcast;

both sides are on their guard. But it is superfluous to dwell on these circumstances, since, in any case, judging from the tenor of your letters, you would not have adopted that course. I mention it only in reference to what I had the honor to tell you at Burdenton.

" In the sincerity of my heart, I was anxious to have this explanation with you. I will not say that all happened just as I would have dictated it. You know that in public, as well as private affairs, we never see things go entirely to our satisfaction. Your incomparable brother, with all his power, his energy, and his talent, experienced the truth of this; and you, his best friend, have had your share of disappointment. I can make no concealment of what I voluntarily did, for I love to preserve your friendship by candor, rather than to destroy it by a less sincere apology.

" Receive, my dear Count, the homage of the respect, gratitude, and affection, for which I am pledged to you.

" LAFAYETTE."

Such are the motives which induced Lafayette to hold himself apart from three systems, into each of which the parties endeavored in vain to engage him.

CHAPTER VII.

Lafayette adopts two great measures—The Hôtel-de-Ville and the Chamber of Deputies on the 2nd August—Lafayette insists that every step taken shall be provisionary—Order of the day—The visit of the Duke of Orleans to the Hôtel-de-Ville—Opposition to the Lieutenant Generalship—The popular throne with republican institutions—Charles X wishes to retire to La Vendée—The expedition to Rambouillet.

Lafayette waited until the representatives of the nation should adopt in the name of the people that first step, which none had the right to take before them. He, however, secured the adoption of two great measures, which France would assuredly neither have obtained from the government, nor from the legislature, had they been previously submitted to their decisions. He immediately caused to be solemnly recognised as a preliminary condition of every ulterior arrangement, the maxim of the sovereignty of the people, which Napoleon

and the Bourbons had for thirty years, ranked in the class of political chimeras, if not mischievous ideas. He secured both principle and practice; the arming of the whole nation, towns as well as country places, and that the nation should have the appointing of her own officers, a principle which took its date from, but which the despotism of the thirty-two last years had rejected, as the most dangerous of institutions, and the one most incompatible with public order, and the maintenance of sovereignty. The reception which the declaration of these doctrines had obtained, whenever Lafayette ventured to give it utterance in the tribune, convinced him of the necessity of securing and bringing them into operation, before either chamber or King had the opportunity of resisting or modifying them. Who can doubt but that if these two conditions had been formally submitted either to the King's counsel, or to the deliberation of the legislature, that they would have suffered mutilation? Is it not especially evident that the project of composing the national guard of the citizens at large and of investing them with the right of electing their own officers, would have been summarily rejected by the order of the day? This is so true that Lafayette had often to struggle

for the conservation of the principle he had brought into force, and indeed on an occasion not very distant from the three days, he was obliged to quash, by moving the order of the day, a proposition of the government, which went to confine the embodying of the national guards to towns of three thousand inhabitants and upwards.

But to return to the events which occurred on the 2nd August, at the Chamber of Deputies and the Hotel-de-Ville.

The members then present in Paris, had, as I have said, elected the Duke of Orleans Lieutenant-General of the kingdom. A deputation from the chamber proceeded to the Hotel-de-Ville, for the purpose of informing Lafayette of this legislative decision, to which he gave his assent without hesitation, constantly expressing his decided conviction, that all which had been done was to be considered merely provisionary, and that nothing was definitive but the victory and sovereignty of the people. This opinion was clearly laid down in the order of the day, which he published on the 2nd August and in which he said :—" In the glorious crisis in which Parisian energy has re-conquered our rights, every measure adopted will be provisionary; nothing is definitive but the sovereignty of the

national rights, and the eternal remembrance of the people's great work."

The proposal of the Lieutenant-Generalship had been transmitted to the Duke of Orleans on the Friday morning. That Prince having arrived the same day at the Palais Royal, lost no time in sending his compliments to the Hotel-de-Ville and to Lafayette. On Saturday morning he announced his visit.

The nomination of the Duke of Orleans had, however, met with strong opposition on the part of the combatants of July. They had nothing to complain of in the prince personally; but as a Bourbon, he was an object of invincible repugnance to the great portion of the citizens, whose blood had been shed during the three days. The name of Bourbon, against which the bodies of the slain, which yet covered the Place de Grève were so many bleeding evidences, engendered odious recollections and deep indignation; so that when the Lieutenant-General arrived at the Hotel-de-Ville, and some few cries of *Vive le Duc d'Orléans!* were raised, they were instantaneously drowned by vociferations a thousand times repeated, of *Vive la liberté! vive Lafayette!* This opposition was renewed more vehemently at the moment when the Prince entered

the Salle du Trône, where the young men, still covered with the dust of the three days, responded to the shouts of *Vive le Duc d'Orléans!* which the deputies raised, by the very significant cry of *Vive Lafayette!* Some proclamations, which spoke of the Duke of Orleans in terms of eulogy, had been torn down from the walls, and the men who had posted them were seized and maltreated by the populace. The Place de l'Hotel de Ville was covered with an immense crowd of persons, among whom was often heard the cry of *Plus de Bourbons!* Every one awaited with impatience the reception which Lafayette would give to the Lieutenant-General. All eyes were fixed on these two personages. A deputy, M. Viennet, read the declaration of the chamber, which excited no sensation; but when Lafayette, extending his hand to the Duke of Orleans, presented him with a tri-coloured flag, and led him to one of the windows of the Hotel de Ville, the enthusiasm of the people burst forth, and more frequent cries of *Vive le Duc d'Orléans!* were mingled with the universal shouts of *Vive Lafayette!* Things had, however, like to have assumed a serious aspect. From the interior of the Hotel de Ville, and under the very eyes of the Prince, dissatisfaction was expressed in no very equivocal terms. A

general* opened a window, and, pointing out his Royal Highness to the people, had the boldness to address him thus:

"Monseigneur, you know our wants and our rights; if you forget them, we will remind you of them."

At this moment it was feared the people would run to arms, and once more take possession of the field of battle.

Lafayette now interposed his all-powerful authority with the chiefs of the insurrection, and obtained from them a promise that tranquillity should not be disturbed; pledging himself, on his part, to obtain from the new power those guarantees which the revolution had a right to exact, and which he summed up in the words, "a popular throne, surrounded by republican institutions;" that is to say, the adoption of the fundamental maxims of the sovereignty of the people, the abolition of hereditary peerage, the abolition of qualification, the application of the most extensive elective principle to the municipal and communal institutions, the re-establishment of the national guard on the principles

* This was General Dubourg, who has since been persecuted with the bitterest animosity by the ministry of Louis Philippe.

of 1791, and the suppression of monopolies contrary to the general interests of commerce and industry.

Lafayette, adopting these bases as the expression of his own sentiments, went and presented them at the Palais Royal. He returned with the assurance that such were also the decided sentiments of the Lieutenant-General.

"You know," said he, to the Duke of Orleans, "that I am a republican, and that I consider the constitution of the United States as the most perfect system that has ever existed."

"I think so too," replied the Duke of Orleans; "it is impossible to have lived two years in America without being of that opinion; but do you think, in the situation in which France stands, and in the present state of public opinion, we can venture to adopt it here?"

"No;" replied Lafayette, "what the French people want at the present juncture, is a popular throne, surrounded by republican institutions."

"That is just what I think," replied the Prince.

All that passed in this interview between the Prince and Lafayette indicated the same republican sentiments on the part of his Royal Highness, whose liberal profession went even beyond the expectations of the general.

Lafayette hastened to make public the engagement which the Lieutenant-General had entered into with him, an engagement, which to use his own words, " let it be appreciated as it might, would have the effect of rallying round us, both those who desire no monarch, and those who desire to have no other than a Bourbon*. It is essential to the history of this revolution to mention here one of the important objects which prevented Lafayette from paying sufficient attention to the first steps taken by the new government and the chamber of deputies. Whilst he was incessantly occupied at his head quarters in re-establishing order in the metropolis, and organizing vast means of defence and attack, in the event of a long resistance, the court and royal army were retiring on Versailles and Rambouillet, where Charles X had resolved to take up a position and defend it

* It is asserted, though erroneously, that Lafayette, on presenting the Duke of Orleans to the people, exclaimed " this the best of republics." Lafayette has, however, explained the purport of his expression in a letter adressed to General Bernard, which that officer published in the American papers. He said speaking of the monarchy of July " this is the best we have been able to do in the way of a republic," and not " this is the best of republics."

vigorously. From this point the dispossessed King, hoped to raise in his favor La Vendée, and the departments of the west with which he had already opened communications*. Lafayette foreseeing the probability of this design, lost no time in forming a corps of fifteen or twenty thousand volunteers, to the command of which he appointed General Pajol, with Colonel Jacqueminot, as the chief of his staff and his son Georges Lafayette as his aide-de-camp. This army, which presented so singular an appearance by the diversity of costume and of arms, the multitude of omnibusses, hackney coaches, cabriolets, and articles of every description employed to transport it to the field of battle, but which at the same time was highly interesting from the ardent patriotism by which it was animated, set out on its march for Versailles after being reviewed by Lafayette, in the Champs-Elysées. The evening before, a feeble advanced guard under the command of Colonel Poque, had been directed upon the same point, in order to follow the move-

* General Lamarque, who shortly after took the command of these departments, obtained the most convincing proofs of the existence of this plan of civil war, which only failed through the promptitude with which a popular army was directed on Rambouillet by order of Lafayette.

ments of the enemy, and to demand the restoration of the crown jewels, which the royal family had carried off with them. This mission gave occasion to the exchange of some flags of truce, and it was whilst bearing one of these that Colonel Poque, whose sacred character was shamefully disregarded by a general now in active service*, received the fire of a Swiss platoon, which killed his horse and fractured the colonel's foot. During the night after the departure of the patriot army Lafayette was visited at the Hotel de Ville by a general officer, who, having been at Rambouillet at the time Charles X was reviewing his troops, had profited by the opportunity of collecting the most authentic details of the force of the royal army.

That army it appeared had forty pieces of cannon and an effective force of twelve thousand men, including three fine regiments of cavalry. Lafayette was not without apprehension at the thought of a conflict in the plains of Rambouillet between

* I ought to mention here that when Lafayette ordered the general who had directed the flag of truce to be fired on, to be tried before a court martial, Colonel Poque had the generosity to solicit his pardon, and to beg that his name might not be placed in the order of the day.

the artillery and cavalry which he understood to be animated by the most hostile spirit, and the patriots whose formation had been so sudden and incomplete. He therefore transmitted, forthwith, the information he had just received, to General Pajol, and directed him in case of an attack, to gain the woods, where the volunteers would not fail to recover their superiority. Happily the rapid and bold movement of the Parisian army had awed the royal family, and the apprehended conflict did not take place. The three commissioners from the provisional government M.M. Maison, Odillon Barrot and de Schonen proceeded to Rambouillet where it was stipulated that the crown jewels should be restored, and that the royal family should retire to Cherbourg by easy stages, followed by the troops who wished to accompany them to the frontier.

That day presented a spectacle, unparalleled in the annals of the world! on the one hand, a perjured King, who had broken the fundamental compact, proclaimed absolute power, caused his countrymen to be mowed down by artillery and the sabre for the space of three days, and even ordered the arrest and execution of the very men who held him in their power, now traversed

France, under the protection of three commissioners decorated with the tri-coloured cockade, amidst a population which though still excited by indignation, offered no insult to misfortune so well merited. On the other hand, fifteen or twenty-thousand Parisian volunteers, directing their steps homeward, without the commission of a single act of violence. Finally, the court carriages, covered with gilding and drawn by eight horses beautifully caparisoned, were loaded inside and out with patriots, who rent the air with laughter at finding themselves seated on the velvet cushions of royalty. But they nevertheless respected those relics of chastised vanity.

Subjoined is the order of the day, which Lafayette published on the termination of this adventurous expedition.

ORDER OF THE DAY OF THE 5TH AUGUST.

"So many miracles have occurred during the past week, that we must henceforth cease to wonder at any thing achieved by courage and devotion. The general-in-chief, however, thinks it his duty to express the public gratitude and his own, for the promptitude and zeal with which the

national guard and the volunteer corps, marched the road to Rambouillet, to check the last resistance of the ex-royal family. He also owes thanks to the brave men of Rouen, Louviers and Elbeuf, who, coming to our assistance in brotherly union, could not better fulfil that object, than by joining the expeditionary army, under the orders of General Pajol and Colonel Jacqueminot.

" In contemplating the services rendered to their country by the people of Paris, and the young men of the schools, there is no good citizen who is not filled with admiration, confidence, and I may add respect, at the sight of that glorious uniform of the Polytechnic school, which in the moment of the crisis, made each individual a host in the conquest of liberty, and the maintenance of public order. The general-in-chief begs the pupils of the Polytechnic school to select one of their comrades to remain with him as his aid-de camp.

" Colonel Poque, the general-in-chief's aid-de-camp, was despatched four hours ago, by the provisional commissioners and the general to follow the retreat of the royal troops, and to terminate a mission of patriotism and generosity. Whilst awaiting the return of a flag of truce, the colonel was fired on and severely wounded. A strict enquiry

will be instituted upon this proceeding. The general-in-chief confines himself at present to making known the intrepid, intelligent and generous conduct of Colonel Poque, and to rendering justice to the young M. Dubois, who on this occasion evinced remarkable intelligence and courage, as well as to the brave brigadier of cuirassiers, Pradier, and some others, who were near the colonel at the time.

" The brave volunteers who under the command of their intrepid leader Joubert performed such deeds of valor during the three great days, again distinguished themselves under the command of the same chief, by their zeal in the expedition to Rambouillet.

" Our brothers in arms of the patriotic town of Havre, also marched to us; they yesterday entered the capital to unite with us.

" LAFAYETTE."

CHAPTER VIII.

Fresh irritation in Paris—Opening of the Session of 1830—Lafayette preserves the independence of the chamber—His influence gives umbrage to the new government—He declares himself against the hereditary peerage—History of the Charte-Berard—It is wished that the abdication of Charles X and the Dauphin should be the principle on which the throne is pronounced vacant—Secret document and curious details on this subject.

During the expedition to Rambouillet, renewed irritation appeared in Paris. The charter, as modified by M. Berard, was published. This crude plan of a constitution, remodelled upon one which had just expired, was far from satisfying the expectations of the revolutionary party, because it consecrated the principal abuses of the old system, and repelled all idea of national sanction. Besides there was a wish to vote for the peerage, which excited a general burst of indignation among the men of July. They raised a cry of treason! this

was on the 3rd of August, the day appointed by the government of Charles X, for the meeting of the chambers. The deputies attached great importance to the opening of the revolutionary session on that day. It did open, and two sittings took place during the day. The sitting of the evening had hardly commenced, when a tumultuous crowd appeared before the doors of the chamber, with the manifest intention of dissolving it by force. The exasperation of the young men rose to a higher pitch than ever; the members who entered the hall of the assembly, heard threatening reproaches ring through the passage; in a word the tumult was at its height, when Lafayette arrived by the great court on the opposite side. Finding the chamber in a state of great agitation, and prepared to resist courageously this violation of its liberty, he asked where the tumult was, and presenting himself forthwith to the crowd, who were rending the air with groans and vociferations, he addressed them in the following terms: " My friends, it was my duty to take measures for defending the chamber against every attack, which might be made upon its independence; I neglected to do so, and I acknowledge my error in that neglect; but I never con-

templated, after all that passed during the revolution, the violence which has this day been manifested; I have no force to oppose to you, but if the liberty of the chamber is violated, the disgrace will light upon me, who am entrusted with the maintenance of public order. I therefore leave my honor in your hands, and I count upon your friendship for me, as a security that you will depart peaceably." At these words, the storm subsided and all exclaimed: "Come, let us depart! vive Lafayette!" the chamber was then restored to freedom of deliberation.

But it was not with impunity that the mere voice of Lafayette, effected in this crisis, what the combined influence of the other members attempted in vain. The personal popularity, he enjoyed among all classes, high and low, became the germ of enmity and jealousy, which soon broke out, when the dangers, with which the trial of the ministers menaced the new order of things was past.

Before the public discussion of the new charter, some deputies were invited to the Palais-Royal, to the reading of the draft, on the drawing up of which Lafayette was not consulted. At this meeting MM. Georges Lafayette, Victor de Tracy, and Lafayette himself were present. The docu-

ment was read over hastily, and in order to prevent comments, the pretext was artfully made, that the chamber was waiting. Lafayette, however, was struck with the ambiguous and unsatisfactory nature of the article relative to the abolition of the peerage, which had been so strongly demanded at the Hôtel-de-Ville. The draught was altered in the chamber, at the instance of several deputies, and in consequence of some severe remarks, which Lafayette delivered in the tribune. He said: "Gentlemen, if I am about to advance an opinion, which is contested by many friends of liberty, I shall not, I imagine, be suspected of having been seduced by enthusiasm, or of courting a popularity, which I shall never prefer to my duty. The republican sentiments, which I have declared at all times, and before every power, do not hinder me from being the defender of a constitutional throne. Thus, gentlemen, in the present crisis of affairs, it seems proper that we should erect another national throne, and I must say, that my approval of the Prince, with the choice of whom we are now occupied, was corroborated the more I know of him. But I differ with many of you upon the question of hereditary peerage. I am a disciple of the American school, and I have

always thought, that the legislative power should be divided between two bodies, with some difference in their organization. But I never could comprehend, how legislators and judges could be hereditary. Aristocracy, gentlemen, is a bad ingredient in political institutions. I therefore, declare decidedly that I vote, for the abolition of hereditary peerages, and at the same time, I pray my colleagues not to forget that if I have always been the supporter of liberty, I have also never ceased to be the supporter of public order."

These words sealed the death warrant of the peerage.

I must now call the reader's attention to the Charte-Bérard, upon the origin of which so many conjectures have been ventured. I am better qualified to describe its history, since through my connection with its author, when we were both contributors to the *Journal du Commerce*, I was enabled during the memorable days, to enrich my portfolio with some notes, which he had left in the office, and to ascertain all the circumstances of his conduct.

It is wrong to accuse M. Berard of having, at this juncture, accepted a ready made part. The first idea of the important measure which he

subsequently proposed, belongs to himself entirely; and the following is a correct account of the vicissitudes his charter passed through, before it was declared to be the law of the state.

On Wednesday, the 3rd of August, at ten o'clock at night, M. Berard, whilst discoursing at M. Laffitte's with M.M. Etienne and Cauchois Lemaire, upon the dangers of longer leaving an opening for the ambitious projects which were in agitation, conceived and communicated the idea of putting an end to them by proposing that the chamber should declare the forfeiture of Charles X, and to proclaim the Duke of Orleans, under conditions so rigorous and precise, that it should be impossible for that prince to evade them. This project was approved of by the few patriots to whom it was communicated, and M. Berard returned home to draw up the scheme of the following plan of the proposition: "A solemn compact united the French people to their monarch. This compact has been broken. The rights which it created have ceased to exist. The violation of the contract can have no right to demand that it should be carried into execution.

"Charles the Xth and his son in vain pretend to transmit a power which they no longer possess;

that power is extinguished in the blood of many thousand victims.

"The act which you have heard read* is a perfidy. The appearance of legality with which it is invested, is a mere deception. It is a brand of discord which is attempted to be thrown amidst us.

"The enemies of our country resort to every expedient; they clothe themselves in all colours; they affect all opinions. If a desire for undefined liberty inflames some generous minds, these enemies eagerly turn to their own advantage, a sentiment which they are incapable of understanding. Ultra royalists exhibit themselves in the colors of rigid republicans. Others affect for the son of the conqueror of Europe a hypocritical attachment which would soon be converted into hatred, if it were seriously proposed to make him the sovereign of France.

"The inevitable instability of the existing resources of government encourages the promoters of discord. Let this state of things exist no

* This proposition was to be read in the sitting in which Charles X's act of abdication, and the renunciation of the Dauphin were communicated to the chamber.

longer. A supreme law, that of necessity, placed arms in the hands of the people of Paris to repel oppression. This law has induced us to adopt, as a provisionary leader, and as a means of safety, a Prince, who is the sincere friend of constitutional institutions. The same law requires that we should adopt this Prince for the definitive head of our government.

" But, however great may be the confidence with which he inspires us, the rights we are called upon to defend require that we should fix the conditions upon which he will obtain power. Shamefully deceived as we have repeatedly been, we may be excused for stipulating for rigid guarantees. Our institutions are incomplete, vicious, even in some respects: we must extend and perfect them. The Prince, who is at our head, has even anticipated our just demands. The principles of many fundamental laws have been proposed by the chamber and recognized by him.

" The re-establishment of the national guard with their participation; the choice of their officers; the participation of the citizens in the formation of departmental and municipal administrations; the trial by jury for offences of the press; the responsibility of ministers, and of the secondary

agents of the government; the fixing of the condition of soldiers legally fixed; the re-election of deputies promoted to public offices;—these conditions are always secured to us. Public opinion requires further that there should no longer be a vain toleration of all religions, but the establishment of their perfect equality by law; the expulsion of foreign troops from the national army; the abolition of the old and new nobility; the right of originating laws to be given to the three powers equally; the suppression of the double electoral vote; a suitable reduction of the age, and the pecuniary qualifications of voters; finally, the total re-construction of the peerage, the fundamental bases of which have been successively vitiated by prevaricating ministers.

"Gentlemen, we are sent here by the people; they have confided to us the defence of their interests, and the duty of expressing their wants. Their first wants, their dearest interests are liberty and repose. They have conquered their liberty; it is our duty to secure them repose; and we cannot do so except by giving them a stable and just government. Vainly would some persons pretend, that in taking this course we shall overstep the limits of our duty. My answer to this futile

objection is, the law which I have already invoked, is that of imperious and invincible necessity.

" Upon the faith of the strict and vigorous execution of the conditions herein enumerated, which must previously be stipulated and sworn to by the monarch, I propose, gentlemen, that we should immediately proclaim Lieutenant-General Prince Philippe of Orleans, King of the French."

On the morning of the 4th of August, M. Berard communicated this proposition to several deputies, amongst whom were M. Dupont de l'Eure, then minister of justice, and M. Laffitte. Both promised to mention it to the council. At noon, M. Berard proceeded to the chamber, where, before the opening of the sitting, he considered it his duty to communicate his intention to a great number of his colleagues, from whom, generally, it experienced a strong opposition. In the meantime the provisional ministers arrived at the Palais Bourbon, and assured M. Berard that his project had obtained the assent of the council; but that the Duke of Orleans earnestly beseeched him to suspend his proposition, for the purpose of giving it a still greater extension for *the interests of* LIBERTY!!! They added that the Prince had conceived the idea of applying immediately to the charter the princi-

ples laid down in M. Berard's proposition; and that he would be summoned in the evening to the council, to discuss with the members of the cabinet the alterations which it might be deemed fit to make in it. M. Berard however was not sent for by the ministers, who excused themselves by saying, that the council wished first to argue amongst themselves with respect to some points under deliberation, which they had not yet been able to do; but that assuredly he, M. Berard, would be requested to attend the meeting of the council that evening. This second promise had the same fate as the first."

On Friday morning, the 5th of August, M. Berard went to M. Guizot, to whom he complained warmly, both of the delay which his proposition experienced and of the incivility of the conduct observed towards him. M. Guizot, then, with visible embarrassment, presented to him a new proposition, in the hand-writing of the Duke of Broglie, which contained the views of the doctrinaires, who had possessed themselves of power.

I subjoin the original text of this curious document which I recommend to the attention of my readers, as the type of the ideas which then governed, and have since constantly directed the policy of the men of the restoration, to whom the

revolution of July was, in a fatal hour, confided. In this we must look for the origin of that monstrous anomaly which M. Guizot soon ventured to introduce into our public law, under the curious denomination of *quasi légitimité*.

"THE CHAMBER OF DEPUTIES TAKING INTO CONSIDERATION, &c.

"SEEING THE ACT OF ABDICATION OF HIS MAJESTY CHARLES THE TENTH, DATED THE 2D OF AUGUST LAST, AND THE RENUNCIATION OF LOUIS ANTOINE, THE DAUPHIN, OF THE SAME DAY;

"CONSIDERING, BESIDES, THAT HIS MAJESTY CHARLES THE TENTH, HIS ROYAL HIGHNESS LOUIS ANTOINE, THE DAUPHIN, AND ALL THE MEMBERS OF THE ELDEST BRANCH OF THE ROYAL HOUSE HAVE AT THE PRESENT MOMENT QUITTED THE FRENCH TERRITORY;

"DECLARES THAT THE THRONE IS VACANT AND THAT IT IS INDISPENSIBLE, THAT THE VACANCY SHOULD BE FILLED UP."

The representative's qualification of 1,000 francs, and the elector's qualification of 300 francs were carefully preserved in this project, which as cautiously abstained from proposing any modification in the composition of the chamber of peers. M. Guizot had merely added the following marginal

note in his own hand writing: — "*All appointments and creation of Peers made in the reign of his Majesty Charles X are declared null and void.*"

What, however, is most worthy of observation in this document, is the class of opinions under which the two directing ministers had already placed themselves. What use then did MM. de Broglie and Guizot wish to make of the consideration introduced into their proposition? With what view had they stipulated for the abdication of Charles X, and the renunciation of the Dauphin, if not to favor the pretensions of a third minor? In fact the necessity of the abdication, and of the renunciation being once admitted, the Duke of Bordeaux alone remained by law King of France. However, it was rationally impossible, from these principles to deduce any thing favorable to the royalty of Louis-Philippe, and in order to avoid being struck with the absurdity of this combination, it would be necessary to give credit to the existence of a certain protest published in the English journals at the time of the Duke of Bordeaux's birth, which was republished some weeks after the events of July, and remained uncontradicted by the Duke of Orleans to whom it was attributed. At all events, it was at least

evident that the doctrinaire ministers wished thenceforth to create a legitimate monarchy for Louis-Philippe;—a pretension which sufficiently explains both the conduct of the first administration and that of the existing cabinet, whose principles are exactly the same.

Be this as it may, M. Berard on receiving M. Broglie's draft from M. Guizot, declared that it expressed principles of which he could not become the organ, and announced his intention of modifying them. Time, however, pressed: it was nine o'clock, and the chamber was to assemble at noon for the purpose of having his proposition communicated to it. It was in this short interval of time that he rivetted the compact, which was destined to unite France to the royalty of the barricades. When M. Berard met M. Guizot at the post of the tribune, he said, "I have made great alteration in your work."—"So much the worse," replied the man of the doctrine, "for you will never be forgiven for it." A reflective mind will see that this expression comprehends within it the whole system which is now unfolding itself.

I have no wish to be the apologist for M. Berard's composition—I have already said, that it is merely an indigested assemblage of the most

incoherent propositions. However, if on the one hand we reflect on the precipitation with which he was obliged to determine upon it in the shape in which it finally appeared, and on the other hand we compare his first sketch with the proposition introduced from on high—if moreover we take into consideration the elements of which the chamber was composed, we can conceive the difficulty of this honorable deputy's position, and perhaps may attribute to circumstances rather than to his political convictions, the vices by which the charter of 1830 has been stained.

CHAPTER IX.

Vain hopes—Lafayette objects to the new King taking the name of Philippe V — Enthronement of Louis-Philippe — Why Lafayette accepted the command of the national guards — What he did for that institution—Review of the 29th August 1830—The moment for Europe to ask for peace, and for France to grant it.

THE new charter thus suddenly improvized, assuredly fell short of what victory was entitled to demand, and more particularly fell short of the hopes which so noble a triumph had excited. Still the distance was already great between the new constitution and the granted charter; between the republican forms which were yet respected, and the servile forms of the court which a few days before had oppressed France. The most ardent friends of the revolution could still dream of justice, liberty, glory, a throne protecting the rights of the people, and an indissoluble compact between the government and the nation. As for

myself I confess, I believed that the dreams of my youth were realized, for it was to the sound of the music of the Parisienne and the Marseillaise, executed beneath the peristyle of the chamber, that the Lieutenant-General appeared for the first time in the bosom of the national representation; and relying on the duration of a future which had been so long expected, I imagined that I should be able to exclaim with the old man Simeon, *Nunc dimittis*. . . . Alas!

It had been decided that the throne should be offered to the Duke of Orleans, and that the new monarch should take the name of Louis-Philippe V. This was the first attempt of counter-revolution, to renew that *chain of time* which the barricades had so unceremoniously interrupted. Lafayette objected to this denomination, which he called unworthy of a republican monarchy, that ought to have nothing in common with the pretensions and tinsil show of the ancient kings of France; manliness on this occasion triumphed over *doctrinaire* courtliness, and the Duke of Orleans wrote with his own hand these English words:—"You have gained your point; it shall be as you wish it."

It was indeed a glorious spectacle to witness

the enthronement of a King issuing from the midst of the people entering the sanctuary of the laws, to the sound of the popular songs of 1792, blended with the patriotic inspirations of 1830, and modestly seated on a stool until the delegated of the nation should permit him to take his place on the throne. Who will ever forget it? The people were still in all the dignity of their power, and never were the relations of the creation nearer to the creator more religiously observed. Cries of vive le Duc d'Orléans, and not of vive le roi resounded from the benches and the tribunes. The president of the chamber M. Casimir Périer having read the new charter to the Duke of Orleans, and the Prince having declared that he accepted it, honest Dupont de l'Eure presented it to him to sign and to swear to. A King standing addressed his seated people; and finally when authorized he seated himself on the throne for the first time, and was saluted with the title of Monarch. Such were the last homages that were rendered to the sovereignty of the French people.

When the Lieutenant-General arrived at the Hotel-de-Ville his first care had been earnestly to solicit Lafayette to retain his function of commandant-general of the national guards of the

kingdom. The prince reiterated this request on ascending the throne, adding that it was the most efficacious, perhaps the only means of consolidating his work. Lafayette believing that in fact circumstances required that this command should still continue in his hands, consented to retain it provisionally, although as I have previously stated he had refused it forty years before, because he was of opinion that it conferred too exorbitant and dangerous a power upon any single man.

The following is the order of the day which he published on this occasion:

" . . . . . .

" Amidst the powers created by the necessities of our situation, the re-organization of the national guards is a measure of defence and public order demanded on all sides. It is the opinion (and I feel that it is complimentary to me) of the Prince who executes the high functions of Lieutenant-General of the kingdom, that I ought for the present to take the command of the national guard. I refused to do so in 1790 when solicited by 3,000,000 of my comrades because the office would have been permanent and might one day have become dangerous. Now circumstances are different and

I believe it to be my duty, in order to secure liberty and my country, to accept the office of commandant general of the national guards of France.

"LAFAYETTE.'

This is the proper time to recall to memory the services rendered by Lafayette to his country in the brief exercise of his important command. At the name of their general, the national guards rose up and embodied themselves in all places as if by enchantment. All his watchings, all his solicitudes were devoted to this national re-armament without which he has always thought there could not be any guarantee for liberty. A great part of his time was absorbed which he hastened to establish between his head quarters and the staffs of all the national guards of the kingdom. In particular he attached great importance to the creation of a citizen artillery of which a great number of companies were already organized and in possession of 350 pieces of cannon at the moment of his retirement. He was obliged himself to name the chiefs of legions in order that they should serve from the very beginning to the ulterial organization ; but faithful to the principles of 1791 he hastened to place these

appointments to the disposal of citizens as soon as circumstances would permit him to do so*. This right which is essentially national, Lafayette defended shortly afterwards against the opinion of the commission which declared it to be a prerogative of the crown, and he also contended in the tribune that canton battalions ought to be founded upon a general and vigorous principle and not abandoned to the pleasure of the king. Lafayette joined to his staff the colonels and lieutenant-colonels of legions of the artillery and of the cavalry in order to concert with them, not only as to the means of perfecting the organization of the citizen army, but also as to the measures necessary to be taken for the maintenance of public order and the better distribution of duty.

His mornings were generally devoted to the reception of numerous deputations from national guards and departmental municipalities who flocked from all parts to present him their homage, and to solicit arms the delivery of which never failed to

* By an order of the day of the 22nd of August he authorised colonels to proceed in their respective legions in the appointment of colonels and lieutenant-colonels in conformity with the forms prescribed by the law in 1791.

excite emotions and struggles which his officers alone were able to perceive and appreciate. Finally, thanks to the unbounded confidence with which he inspired the country, to his assiduous cares, to his patriotic perseverance and perhaps also to the fear which the government had of resisting him at a moment when the heir to the throne came to ask his permission to serve as a simple artillery man in the national guard, thanks to all this, France already numbered seventeen hundred thousand organized national guards appointing their own officers, armed and clothed for the greater part and full of ardor and patriotism.

Who is there that does not still thrill with enthusiasm at the recollection of the review on the 29th of August when 60,000 national guards organized, as if by a miracle, perfectly armed and equipped came to the Champ de Mars to receive their colors from the hands of Louis Philippe who then still honored himself by being only their first magistrate? What guarantees! What glory! What liberty! What prosperity did this magnificent exhibition promise! Fifty-two battalions or squadrons of citizen soldiers worthy of comparison for steadiness and military precision with the old bands of the grand army, wearied with the acclamation of

the 300,000 spectators presented a spectacle even more brilliant than that of the federation of 1790. It was then that Louis Philippe threw himself into the arms of Lafayette crying "This is dearer to me than a coronation at Rheims," and the troops and the people answered to their embrace by cries of "vive le roi! vive Lafayette." Touching and grand union which promised bases of granite for the throne of Louis Philippe! Then again the other review which some weeks afterwards exhibited 70,000 national guards united under the flag, and then those 20,000 men of the department of the Seine-et-Oise whom the King and Lafayette inspected at Versailles, all soldiers and citizens all demanding and inspiring confidence—who will ever forget them? With what confidence might not the throne of July then have promised and commanded peace. Peace! it was for the kings of Europe to demand it; for Louis-Philippe to grant it. Fifteen days after the fall of a perjured King who had slaughtered his people, an immense army was raised for liberty, order and independence, and behind this civic phalanx, were 100,000 workmen ready to save their country as they had saved the capital; and in all the rest of France 3,000,000 of citizens eagerly organizing themselves against

the enemies of our independence, of liberty and public order! Yes, this day ought to have terminated the course of our long vicissitudes. The name of king was re-established in France who extended his hand to all citizens, and whom all interests saluted as their protector. Yes, on the 29th of August, a month after the expulsion of Charles the X, the revolution commenced forty years previously might have ended in the principle of popular sovereignty and citizen monarchy! But that was not wished: the revolution is again in motion: the crown and liberty still stand in awe of each other: France is no longer advancing in aggrandizement: she is growing less.

Who on reading the following documents, would not believe that an indissoluble alliance had been formed between Louis-Philippe and Lafayette.

ORDER OF THE DAY OF THE 30TH OF AUGUST, 1830.

"The noble review of yesterday, the admirable appearance of the citizen army, whose rapid formation is in harmony with the rapidity of the triumph of liberty, the manner in which the national guard presented themselves under arms, and defiled before the King excited the enthusiasm of

the immense population which surrounded us, and the just eulogies of generals, whom victory has long since qualified to be the best military judges. The presence of our brave countrymen, wounded in the grand week, and of many deputations from our brothers in arms in the departments, completed the enjoyment of this memorable day. The general-in-chief confines himself this day, to congratulating himself in common with his comrades of the Parisian national guard, on the superb and patriotic spectacle, which they have exhibited upon this memorable occasion. What expressions indeed could he employ, after those contained in the speech delivered by the King, on giving us the flags, and those contained in the letter, which he hastens to communicate to his brothers in arms?"

SPEECH DELIVERED BY THE KING ON PRESENTING THE FLAGS.

"My dear Comrades,

"I feel pleasure in presenting to you these colors; it is with lively satisfaction that I restore them to him, who forty years ago, stood at the head of your fathers, on the same spot.

These colors have marked the dawn of liberty amongst us; the sight of them reminds me with

delight of my first efforts in arms. Symbols of victory, against the enemies of the state, be these flags also the pledge of domestic order and liberty! be these glorious colours, which I confide to your fidelity, our rallying sign. *Vive la France!*

LETTER FROM THE KING TO GENERAL LAFAYETTE.

"I long in the first place to know, my dear General, how you are after this interesting day, for I fear you must be greatly fatigued; but I have another object deeply at heart: which is to request you will be my interpreter to that glorious national guard, whose patriarch you are, and to testify to them all the admiration with which they have impressed me. Tell them they have not only surpassed my expectations, but that it is not possible to express all the joy and happiness they have afforded me. A witness to the confederation of 1790, in this same Champ-de-Mars; a witness also of the grand effort of 1792, when I saw forty-eight battalions, raised within three days, by the city of Paris, arrive to join our army of Champagne, and which so eminently contributed towards repelling the invasion, that we had the happiness to arrest at Valmy, I am enabled to draw a compari-

son, and with transport I assure you, that what I have just witnessed, is infinitely superior to what I then considered so complete, and our enemies found so formidable. Have the further goodness, my dear General, to express to the national guard, my deep sense of the affection they have shewn me, and with which my heart is penetrated.

Your affectionate,

LOUIS-PHILIPPE.

Quantùm mutatus ab illo !

CHAPTER X.

Motives which divert the Attention of Lafayette from the Formation of the King's Council.—He demands the Emancipation of People of Colour.—He presents to the King the Persons condemned for Political Offences. — Conduct of Power towards those brave Men.

The numerous occupations, which results so rapid and important, imposed upon Lafayette, could not but divert his attention from the formation of the king's councils. He is even charged, and perhaps justly, with having suffered power to fall into the hands of the *doctrinaires* and in general, of the men of the restoration. This indifference, become so mischievous, is accounted for by the character of Lafayette, to whom authority was always oppressive, and for whom current affairs never had any attraction. Accustomed to find his advantages in crises, he was at all times guilty of the fault—and no slight one in a states-

man—of disdaining intrigues and especially all those of which he could personally be the object. This disregard of the petty machinations of the palace became a capital fault, at the close of a revolution which had been directed at least as much against men as against things. Nevertheless, if we take away a few names associated with melancholy recollections, we must admit that the direction given to affairs by the first ministry of Louis Philippe exhibited at the outset nothing alarming for the revolution, at least as far as regarded the avowed and ostensible objects of that cabinet.

The faction which soon afterwards set itself up for the arbiter of our destinies, had not yet tried to re-model the restoration; it appeared to be labouring solely to find for France, a suitable pasture, a point of support on the new ground upon which the events of July had thrown it.

The revolution of 1830 too, had itself affected a multitude of interests, deranged numerous establishments, wounded a great many vanities; the situation was studded with rocks and shoals and tottering power demanded support from all comers. Experienced patriots, on their part, remembered that our preceding revolution had

committed faults; that the struggle in which it had found itself engaged had rendered it violent; that it had frightened many, overshot its mark, in many cases swept away the good with the evil, and ultimately established despotism to put an end to anarchy.

This predominant idea commanded caution, and required at least that, before people attacked the new government, they should wait till it was settled and had unfolded its system. All the organs of liberal opinion, whatever might be the shades of their peculiar doctrines, rallied with frankness around the authority sprung from the barricades; and this almost unanimous support given to the depositaries of power during the first six months of their administration, is not one of the slightest proofs of the progress which political reason had made among us. Many of the men of July, and we may say the greater number of those who were implicated in the revolution then supported the ministry, at the same time deploring the dangerous tendency to which it had abandoned itself. Some rare exceptions would not invalidate this observation.

Since that time these men have learned much; they have been deceived, and experience has

condemned them to the condition of decided oppositionists; but not till they saw the system of the restoration, fearlessly developing itself, doing a great deal of mischief, and meditating more. For this reason, too, Lafayette abstained at first from making any opposition to the domestic politics of the government of July, which might have been the signal for fresh resistance, and have raised serious obstacles.

Nevertheless, amidst the labours with which he was overwhelmed by the re-organisation of the National Guard, he did not lose sight of some important points on which it was necessary that the government should explain itself without delay. Among these were the definitive establishment and recognition of the rights of free people of colour in the colonies, an important question, of which all the efforts of the opposition under the preceding government could not obtain a solution. The Minister of the Marine, challenged by Lafayette, replied from the tribune that the new royalty regarded all the citizens of our colonies as perfectly equal, and that it admitted of no inferiority or superiority founded on difference of colour. This was a great point gained for the cause of humanity, and much also for the

patriot who was the first in France to attempt the gradual enfranchisement of slaves, and had devoted a considerable part of his fortune to this philanthropic work.

One of the first cares of Lafayette, was also to ascertain the sentiments of the new power, respecting the fate of the patriots condemned for political offences during the reigns of Louis XVIII. and Charles X. In the decision which he demanded of the government respecting these noble victims, he beheld not only a satisfaction due to justice, but a new consecration of the principle of resistance to oppression, and to the violation of the laws. It was, therefore, a great scandal to the party of the *doctrinaires*, who already began to be dejected about the young court of Louis Philippe, when one day, on which the saloons of the Palais-Royal were filled with deputations from all parts of France, an aide-de-camp on duty was heard calling in a loud voice: *The gentlemen condemned for political offences*—and Lafayette, advancing at their head, and saying to the King, "Here are the political offenders; they are presented to you by an accomplice." The king received them with the most touching affability, and reminding several of these generous

citizens of the persecutions which they had undergone, to his great regret, he promised all of them the warmest interest and a speedy indemnification for their long sufferings. What was the result of these promises?—the complaints of these brave men has proclaimed it to the country, to which it is daily repeated by their indigence. Repulsed by all the administrations, exposed to the disdain of the sycophants of all colours who beset the royalty of the barricades, the persons condemned for political offences go dying of hunger before the eyes of the throne to which they served for a pedestal. History will record that men who for fifteen years, sacrificed every thing for their country, found in it nothing but earth and water, after the *glorious* revolution of July. What a monument of the gratitude of kings.

CHAPTER XI.

Influence of the Revolution of July on the Nations of Europe.—It extends over both Worlds.—Sympathy of England.—Two systems of Foreign Politics divide the Patriots.—Non-interference as understood by Lafayette.—System of the *Doctrinaires*.—Consequences.

Our revolution in July was the signal for the most important events of all kinds. It made the people leap with joy and hope; the despots shake with fear and rage; the whole world felt itself agitated by an irresistible sentiment of liberty.* But of all these phenomena, the most remarkable was the concord of the popular sympathies ex-

* This great event re-echoed even in India. At Delhi, the holy city, the people and the authorities, Indian and English, celebrated it in a magnificent entertainment, to which M. Jacquemont, a French naturalist, then in that distant region, was invited—the inhabitants of the banks of the Ganges drinking to the men of the barricades, and shouting *Lafayette for ever!*—what a subject of meditation for the politician and the philosopher!

pressed on all sides in favour of the Parisians. Forgetting every motive of division and rivalry with ancient France, all nations, without exception, mingled their wishes for the success of the sacred cause that had triumphed at the barricades; they were one family of confederate nations, alike called upon to participate in the advantages of an immense social and political renovation. In short, the revolution of July appeared like a benefit felt by the whole human race, and for which the civilized world testified profound gratitude to the people farthest advanced in civilization. It was an event which exalted the dignity of our common nature, and elevated the character of every nation. There was not a tyrant in the world but trembled, not a slave but felt his chains lightened in contemplating France. The English in particular seemed as if they could not express sufficient enthusiasm. Whigs, tories, and radicals, churchmen, presbyterians, methodists, and catholics, rich and poor, all the parties that cover the face of Great Britain admired us in the combat, admired us after the victory, and prostrated themselves before the people which had, in three days, been able to raise itself out of eight ages of disgrace, and to reduce a monarchy, the

offspring of conquest, in the infancy of the social state, so as to be henceforward but a simple form of government, open to all the improvements of the future.

Who is there but remembers those numerous deputations which poured from all parts of England, Scotland, and Ireland, to congratulate the great nation, and the great citizen whom it had placed at its head! And what language was that held by these free men? Listen for a moment to the leader of the London deputation, bringing to the Hotel de Ville the good wishes and the offerings of that great city. "The imperfect lesson given by our country," said he, "you have enlarged and completed. The world owes you an immense debt of gratitude. For our parts we acknowledge it, and will endeavour to make it be acknowledged: the victory which you have won is that of humanity, and we are proud of you who have so nobly established its rights and performed its duties."

"You have bravely fought for liberty," such was the address of the inhabitants of London; "you have made a noble use of victory; we sincerely congratulate you upon it. History has few pages the glory of which is untarnished, but it

has none more brilliant than that of your glorious revolution to transmit to future ages. May patriotism resort to it to meditate its sublime duties, and heroism derive from it its loftiest lessons! Ardently do we wish that the liberty which has been established by so signal a triumph may be perpetuated among you from age to age; that under its sacred auspices the reign of peace and public prosperity may be omnipotent, and that at the foot of their altars we may bury every vestige of jealousy and animosity. We here solemnly express the conviction that the mighty interest of liberty is the grand and general interest of the human race."*

The enthusiasm of the English for the courage of the Parisians was not confined to these demonstrations. They resolved to furnish a more positive act of adhesion to the principles for which the men of July had fought and conquered. In all the newspaper offices, in all the goverment offices, in all the parishes of the three kingdoms, subscriptions were opened for the relief of the wounded, and of the families of the patriots who had fallen during the three great days. The municipal magistrates of towns and villages sum-

Moniteur, August 28, 1830.

moned public meetings, as well to give a solemn character to these acts of national adhesion, as to make arrangements relative to the subscriptions. In short, these testimonies of approbation were deemed so important, that in order to enable every person to concur in them, they accepted the humble offering of a penny.

At that moment the elections for a new parliament were in progress throughout the whole of Great Britain. The electors required, as a declaration of principles, a public assent to the revolution of July; and there was not a candidate, either on the ministerial side, or belonging to the opposition, who, before he solicited the suffrages of his fellow-citizens, did not think it incumbent on him to proclaim the praises of the heroes of the barricades. I shall quote a few fragments of these addresses, as the most characteristic traits of that period.

"I am thoroughly persuaded," said Mr. Brougham,* to the electors of York, "that if it were to become necessary, the same hands which you have just held up for the choice of your representatives, would be ready to fight with as much energy as the French. That neighbouring

* Now Lord High Chancellor of England.

nation now offers you the glorious example of its efforts in behalf of the sacred cause of liberty. After having been long your enemy, she is now become your rival in the struggle for liberty: your history has become hers. Roused by the weight of an intolerable oppression, she has raised herself in her might, as did your ancestors; she has driven a tyrant from the throne which he disgraced. I am confident that this nation, *after having inflicted upon her ministers such a chastisement as will for ever deter their successors from following their example,* will return to that state of repose from which she was urged by oppression, and will show as much moderation in her triumph, as she has displayed vigour and courage in her resistance. Let France and England then regard one another as inseparable friends, and study to maintain that peace which ought to remain inviolable between them!"

"Gentlemen," thus wrote Sir Francis Burdett to the electors of Westminster, "the events which have just taken place in France are so prodigious, and they have been so admirably conducted, that it is impossible for me to think of anything else; and though I feel, as I ought, the honour which you have done me in electing me to represent

you in Parliament, I scarcely know how to express my gratitude to you. What spectacle more sublime, and more worthy in the sight of God, than that of a great nation fighting for liberty, receiving it, and avenging, as it were, the insulted rights and liberties of all mankind. You will join me, gentlemen, in blessing the French people."

In short, the re-action of July overthrew the Tory ministry, and produced that happy fermentation, which has accelerated the success of the Reform Bill, so long under discusssion in the British Parliament.

The sensation produced in the United States by the revolution of July, was more profound than in any other part of the globe. No sooner had intelligence of the movements at Paris, and of the position of Lafayette, placed at the head of the public force, by the will of the nation, reached New York, than the whole city gave itself up to demonstrations of unbounded joy. All the bells were set a-ringing, every house was illuminated and displayed the tri-coloured flag, and festivities, as brilliant, as solemn, and as numerously attended as any of those which had been held on account of the triumphs of America, were organised in honour of the victory of Paris. It was

the same at Boston, Philadelphia, Baltimore, Richmond, Charlestown, New Orleans, and throughout the whole of the United States, which lost no time in sending succours, addresses, and deputations to the French nation, to the National Guard, and to Lafayette. The flag presented by the city of New Orleans on this occasion, to the people of Paris, still waves in one of the halls of the Hotel de Ville. All these addresses breathed the warmest, the purest admiration of the revolution and the men of July, and expressed the most touching community of sentiments and principles.

The enthusiasm of the American government was not behindhand with that of the people. On the 7th of December, the President of the United States, in his message on the opening of Congress, pronounced the most pompous panegyric on the judgment and generosity which the French people had displayed in this great revolution. In congratulating himself with his fellow-citizens on an event of such importance to the dearest interests of humanity, he did no more, he said, than respond to the voice of the country. There was no reason to expect from such a nation as the American, any other than the most profound sympathy with

the triumph of the sacred principles of liberty, gained in a manner so worthy of so noble a cause, and crowned by the heroic moderation which had sanctified the revolution. "*Notwithstanding the strong assurances,*" he added, "that the man for whom we feel such love, and so just admiration, has given to the world of his esteem for the character of the new King of the French—a character which, if he maintains it to the end, will secure to that prince the high appellation of a patriot king—notwithstanding this assurance, it is not in his triumph, but in that of the great principle which has seated him on the throne—the sovereign authority of the public will, that the American people rejoices."

The sympathies of the American continent with the revolution of July were not confined to the United States. In Mexico, Bogota, Vera Cruz, and Chili, in the Peruvian, Bolivian, and Central republics, addresses of congratulation were drawn up, and transmitted to the inhabitants of Paris, to the French people, to the National Guard of Lafayette.

After our example, the thirst of liberty and the love of order burst forth in all parts of the continent of Europe. Belgium and Poland commenced

the work with an energy and a prudence heretofore unknown to people in a state of insurrection; Italy, ashamed of her degradation, became the theatre of numerous plots; Germany peremptorily demanded the performance of engagements contracted with her fifteen years ago; Switzerland resolved to shake off the yoke of a republican but insolent oligarchy, as all aristocracies are; Spain and Portugal only awaited a helping hand to set about their resurrection; in short the interests of despotism had every where sunk before the general interest of nations, and Europe seemed but to await a signal from France to resume full possession of her rights, suspended, but not prescribed.

In this state of things, what ought to have been the foreign politics of the revolution of July? That revolution consummated, did there still exist a European public law; and had not that event destroyed all the systems generated by fifteen years' improvidence and servitude on the part of nations, and blindness and oppression on the part of kings? In short, had not the moment arrived for Europe to frame for herself a new political code, based no longer upon traditions, but upon actual wants? History will answer: she will

say whether a representative government is or is not a vast organization which can live only by a general life, and whether the government of July, in allowing liberty to be trampled upon among its natural allies has not proclaimed its degradation, and, laboured for its own destruction. The task which I have here undertaken, is not to inquire what it ought to have done, but to state what it has done.

Immediately after the days of July, two systems of foreign policy offered themselves to the choice of France. While awaiting the development of a futurity pregnant with so many hazards, I purpose to examine the qualities of those two systems either of which the best patriots considered as fit for adapting, but in different ways, the position of France to the new circumstances in which she was placed by the revolution.

A numerous party thought with reason that a monarchy born in three days of the sovereignty, of the people, could not long co-exist with the old dogmas of legitimacy which the revolution had just crushed in France. This party conceived that the moment was decisive for the glory and the security of the country, and that the interests as well as the duties of a monarchy,

based upon acts destructive of the spirit and the letter of the treaties of 1814 and 1815, were evidently to suffer the revolutionary movement to run through the whole national sphere, to sweep the ignominies of those treaties to the Rhine, and thence to excite to a complete change of the public law of Europe,—a work of violence, an agglomeration of unnatural alliances and of charges without compensations, which certainly could not be binding upon oppressed nations any longer than while they lacked the means of liberating themselves from them.

As to the fidelity due to these treaties, the partisans of war replied that in political morality it was a horrible corruption of right to make it an instrument of oppression and ruin; and in the way of facts, they cited all the wars which the very persons who now appealed to treaties had undertaken to evade engagements which they had imposed upon themselves. "What, said they, did Austria care about all the treaties which she had conducted with the Republic, the Consulate, and the Empire? How did England observe the treaty of Amiens, Prussia those of Presburg and Tilsit, and Russia that very treaty of Vienna, which had conferred on heroic Poland a sem-

blance of nationality, and certain shadows of liberty ?"

The partisans of war saw no conditions of stability and permanence for the revolution but in a general system of similar perturbations which should break all the bonds of patronage and inferiority established by the treaties of 1814 and 1815; treaties by virtue of which Prussia holds dominion from Thornville to Memel, Austria from the Lake of Constance to the gates of Belgrade, and from the Tanaro to the frontiers of Turkey; and what is far more alarming for the civilization of Europe, by virtue of which a semi-barbarous Empire has established itself on the Oder, whence it threatens the Elbe, the Weser, and the Rhine.

Lastly, the war-party was desirous that Europe should be re-settled, not by convulsions, but by an equitable return to natural nationalities, and it conceived that the monarchy of July was not bound to ratify the spoliation of Landau, of Sarre-Louis, of Philippeville, of Chambery, of Huningen, &c. According to its views, it was the duty of France to make herself as strong by her alliances as by her own weight; and it regarded as her proper allies not the great powers, but the

secondary states which she had taken under her ægis ever since the war of the Reformation—in the Poles, the Belgians, the Swedes, the Danes, the independent members of the German family, the free men of all countries. In short, this party calling to mind with pride that France had at all times united her cause with that of weak and oppressed nations, that, though catholic, she had undertaken the defence of protestantism, that though an absolute monarchy, she had fought for republican insurrection, loudly insisted that she should now carry her popular doctrines to the Rhine, the Pyrenees, beyond the Alps, and there assuming the character of auxiliary or umpire, she should guarantee to the nations who wished to be free, the right to make themselves so, and to those, if any such there were, who prefered absolute power, the right of retaining it; for to whatever shades of opinion they are attached, the genuine men of July no more assume the right to combat the fanaticism of slavery, than they admit that of attacking the enthusiasm of liberty.

Such is the first system of foreign politics, of which the most ardent friends of the revolution of 1830 desired the adoption. Would it have produced the results which they promised themselves?

I know not; but this I know, that the overthrow of the most ancient throne in Europe, the unexpected return of England to a liberality relatively excessive, the resurrection of Belgium, the prodigious struggles of Poland, the convulsions of Italy, the agitations of Switzerland, the commotions of Germany, and even the patriotic reminiscences of Spain, seemed to indicate that the hour for the complete redintegration of France, and the emancipation of Europe, had arrrived: the rest belonged to Providence.

Enthusiasm, however, even that of liberty, has its vicissitudes; humanity has its rights, war its hazards, fortune its reverses, and on those reverses might depend, according to the views of a great number of excellent patriots, the fate of France, and the coming destinies of Europe. The victory was promised to nascent liberty, but the revolution, in short, might be vanquished; and is it possible to conceive what might have been brought back to us by that legitimacy when triumphant, which, on the brink of ruin, so insolently denied to us the shadow of liberty?

This apprehension, united with the feeling of the calamities and sacrifices which the most just of wars must necessarily occasion, imposed upon

excellent citizens the duty of inquiring if there was no other way than that of war to consecrate the revolution of July, and to guarantee to the great national individualities which this revolution had aroused, the faculty of acting freely for themselves. No doubt every one was sensible, that on the issue of the Belgian, Polish, and Italian revolutions, might eventually depend the issue of the second French revolution; but every one knew also, that it was sufficient to guarantee to those nations the free development of their strength, in order that, especially after the first exertions on their awaking, they might be able to accomplish of themselves the grand work of their regeneration.

Such are the opinions which, in the first days succeeding the revolution of July, were held by citizens, equally devoted to the interests of France, and the liberty of Europe, to these two systems of peace and war: on the one hand, patriots demanding an attack, sudden, spontaneous, impetuous as the revolution itself; on the other, patriots also, who, conceiving that sufficient courage had ennobled this revolution, and that it had no more need of blood, preferred to the hazards of war, a definite, rigorous, and inflexible system of non-interference.

Lafayette adopted the latter way of thinking. Was he right or wrong? people may differ in opinion on that subject. There is, however, reason to believe, that if, instead of frittering down the system of non-interference to the absurd, instead of suffering it to be fashioned according to the calculations of all the monarchical iniquities, instead of distorting it by the most insolently Jesuitical interpretations, it had been maintained, and, if need were, defended by force of arms in all its strictness, such, in short, as it was approved by Lafayette, Poland, Belgium, and Italy, would at this day have shaken off the yoke which tramples on their rights and threatens ours. Neither was this so unusual a system as some assert it to be. Thirty-eight years before, the Foxes, the Greys, the Erskines, had laid the foundation of it by demanding the non-interference of powers in the affairs of other countries, and declaring that this non-interference would suffice to enable liberty to produce its natural fruit, not only in France, but over the whole continent of Europe. Why, then, should that which was possible in 1792, be no longer so in 1830?

In short, non-interference, in the utmost rigour, both of the letter and the spirit of that term, if

not war with all its chances, all its consequences, was, in the first days of the revolution of July, the policy of Lafayette, as well as of some of the members of the first cabinet of Louis-Philippe.

I subjoin a few facts, which will prove in what way the crown and its counsellors affected to understand that system, so long as their conduct was governed by the revolutionary influence, purposely selecting my authorities from a period in which the royalty of July had already began to abjure its principle.

On the 20th of December, the head of the ministry of the 3d of November, said from the tribune:—

"France will not allow the principle of non-interference to be violated, but she will use her efforts also to prevent any one from compromising *peace, if it can be preserved;* and if war becomes inevitable, it ought to be proved, before the face of the world, that we have been forced into it, by having no other choice left us but war, or the desertion of our principles.

"We shall continue, therefore, to negociate, but while negociating we shall arm.

"In a very short time, gentlemen, we shall have, not only our fortresses provisioned and de-

fended, but 500,000 regular troops well armed, well organised, well officered; a million National Guards will support them, and the king, if need be, will put himself at the head of the nation.

"We will march in close order, strong in the goodness of our cause, and the might of our principles. If storms burst forth at the sight of our three colours, and become our auxiliaries, so much the worse for those who have let them loose: we shall not be accountable for them to the world."

Here is a precise definition of the system of non-interference, as adopted by the new dynasty. What was its object? Listen to the ministers of that dynasty.

"The object of the holy alliance," said M. Lafitte, "is to stifle, by united efforts, the liberty of nations, wherever it may show itself; the new principle, proclaimed by France, is to suffer liberty to develope itself wherever it has sprung up naturally. The principle of non-interference has the two-fold object, to cause liberty to be respected everywhere, but to hasten its coming nowhere; because it is not good, excepting where it is a natural fruit; since experience has proved, that in every country, the liberty brought by fo-

reigners, is a present as baneful as despotism. No more interference of any kind—such has been the system of France. It has the advantage of guaranteeing our independence, as well as that of the countries recently emancipated."

The profession, however, of a principle is nothing; its application is every thing. To what purpose, then, has the principle of non-interference been applied by the monarchy of July? Was it applied to Italy, which the Austrians entered in spite of our teeth, and which they did not evacuate, a first time, till they had crushed that liberty which the King of the French desired to see "*developing itself wherever it should have sprung up naturally?*"—Was it applied to Poland?—Was it even applied to Belgium, on the fate of which the permanent action of the conference of London has for eighteen months past exercised the most direct interference? Assuredly not; for if the party of soldiers whom we sent to play on the banks of the Scheldt, was considered as a consequence of the principle of non-interference, which could scarcely be the case, history would call us to account for the abandonment of the Poles, who stood in precisely the same situation in regard to the czar, as the Belgians did to William. Pos-

terity will say on this melancholy subject, that Nicholas dared to insult the royalty of the barricades, and that this first shout of a barbarian chilled the courage of the France of July.

If I turn to more recent transactions, I there find proofs of a deception, or a blindness beyond all comparison. At the opening of the present session, the crown guaranteed to papal Italy *a real amnesty, the abolition of confiscation, and positive ameliorations in the administrative and judicial departments.* Well! but what was there real in this real amnesty? The dungeons of Venice transferring to the dungeons of Milan, the patriots whom France knew not how to wrest from a few Austrian pirates; civil war desolating anew the plains of Rome; the pillage of Cesina; women, children, and aged men, slaughtered by regimented banditti under the banners of the cross, and a tribunal of blood borrowed from the barbarism of the middle ages. What is there, then, real in the independence promised to central Italy?—why, the arms and intrigues of Austria tending incessantly to the subjugation of the whole peninsula.

In regard to Belgium, Louis Phillipe said,

"The fortresses erected to threaten France shall be demolished." They are still standing.

The Polish nationality shall not perish. What, alas! has become of the nationality of a magnanimous people, whose melancholy lot it is to be murdered four times in a century, through the cowardice of Europe? Look at that race of heroes consigned to the sword of its tyrants; the deserts of Siberia peopled with men to whom posterity will erect altars; those few remnants of the brave soliciting of us an hospitality, which a timid policy dare scarcely grant them: the Russ alone is seated on the hearth of the great people.

Such are the consequences of the dereliction of the principle of non-interference constantly invoked by Lafayette. Instead of protecting our friends, the royalty of July has suffered them to be trampled upon in despite of the most solemn promises; instead of providing at a distance means of attack and defence, he awaits the enemy in the very citadel; and while it is as evident as the light of day, that the absolute monarchies are drawing closer together and colleaguing, she, the offspring of a revolution denies her natural auxiliaries, and is content to exchange, against an

abject submission, all our recollections of glory and power. I know not with what name she dignifies her policy, but I can tell that which history reserves for it.

But, we are told, peace is insured, and a general disarming will soon crown the system of the cabinet of the 13th of March; and this peace and this disarming, will give a positive contradiction to the foretellers of war. Away then with all uncertainty, all the alternatives of calm and storm, which chilled the heart and struck France aghast. The fact is certain: it was false, that it behoved the revolution of July to seek its triumph in the identity of French interests with the interests of all the nations into whose bosoms the volcano had thrown the brands of liberty. Look around: such of those nations as, after our example, rose to reconquer their country, their distinctive names, manners, and physiognomies, and laws conformable with their nature, are again bound under the yoke; in Poland, a re-acting, vindictive, barbarous policy, has ground to dust the very last elements of that nationality which the declaration of the King of the French had guaranteed in the face of the world; Italy, decimated by a priest, is still a prey to all the calamities of civil war, and a two-fold foreign

interference; Belgium is still chained in a cramped and false situation; fresh convulsions are preparing in Spain and Portugal; Switzerland is dismembering itself; national independence, personal security, the progress of civilization, are every where threatened; in short, all things in Europe are clashing, without coming together; jumbling, without uniting; and yet, the ratifications of the twenty-four articles are exchanged, peace is no longer doubtful, the royalty of July has slipped into the family of legitimate monarchies, the *juste milieu* triumphs, and peace will be maintained. Such are the practical results of that diplomacy, so inactive, expectant, so cowardly, which amidst the rapid movement which hurries Europe along, seems, you would say, to have struck dumb that noble France of July, who, according to you, could not re-conquer the notoriety of her preponderance but by showing herself resolved to brave all dangers, and giving the world a high idea of her determination and courage. Well! that idea she has trucked for letters of vassalage, she has stripped off her virile robe to put on the rags of the holy alliance; that character of the revolution of July which ought to predominate in all possible situations, that ascendancy of armed reason, of

power in the hands of liberty, which she ought to exercise in the councils of Europe, she has bartered for the disgrace and the mischief of a royal embrace: and yet, peace is ensured! What more have you to say? Believe in us and hold your tongues. Such is the argument of the *doctrinaires.*

Be it so then! The spirit of war is laid; the execution of the twenty-four articles is guaranteed by all the powers; Holland herself is forced to submit to all the stipulations of that treaty; she acknowledges King Leopold, and accredits an ambassador to his court; Russia removes from Poland part of the regiments which cover its soil; in short, the peace of Europe is definitively established on these bases. Let us take all these things for accomplished facts, and even admit that a disarming, which the difference of the military systems of Europe will always render illusory, comes to crown this peace, and to fix the various nations of the continent in the precarious, false, ruinous conditions in which they find themselves, as well in regard to one another, as in their relations to their respective governments. Let me ask,—is there a man of sense and foresight who can believe in the permanence of this monstrous

re-organization, and is not convinced that such a state of things must necessarily generate fresh and speedy convulsions?

That benevolent belief, which some superficial but honest observers entertain in the durability of this peace, is an important error, too frequently accredited by the false prepossessions of the friends of liberty themselves. After the revolution of July, the parts were reversed by attributing to France the necessity of preserving peace, and by the foreign powers, the intention of making immediate war upon her: and the government has very skilfully fostered this opinion, that it might assume the merit of overcoming the difficulty. Hence, the arguments drawn from the dismemberment of the army, and the relative inferiority of our military force; hence, all the disgraceful concessions, all the diplomatic poltrooneries which imminent necessity forced upon us; hence, in short, the cause of the impossibility of saving Poland and Italy.

The plainest common sense, however, will suffice to do justice to these quibbles. How, in fact, is it possible to suppose, that after the events of July, Prussia, Austria, Russia, and Spain—for England is quite out of the question—would be so

blind as to think of attacking France, excited by an immense revolution, and having for an advanced guard, a girdle of nations in a state of insurrection? How renew, then, a coalition already broken by the appeal to arms of Belgium, Poland, Italy, and some of the German provinces? Was it not evident that the holy alliance, before it could threaten the Rhine, the Alps, and the Pyrenees, must have awaited the result of some campaigns on the Vistula, the Elbe, the Rhine, the Po, and the Ebro? And, let the state of our army have been what it might, had not France all the time necessary, had she not, above all, more elements than she needed to place herself in a formidable attitude in the rear of the foreign populations, fighting in front of her for a cause which was their own. Have you forgotten the revolutionary enthusiasm, which in a month would have cast forth beyond the frontiers, all the obnoxious persons whom the days of July had displaced? Have you forgotten those thirty thousand volunteers, with which, in one fortnight, the single city of Paris reinforced the army? Lastly, have you forgotten the triumphs of 1792, won with means so inferior to the moral and material resources presented by our situation in

1830? Now, as at that time, France is but one soldier; but at the latter, more than at the former date, this soldier had the population of Europe for his comrade in bed and in battle; and his cause, in the eyes of all, was a revolution free from the horrors and excesses which had degraded the primitive character of his elder revolution.

It was, therefore, as I have already said, for Europe to demand peace, and for us to consider whether it was consistent with our true interest to grant it. The utmost skill of the politics of the cabinets has been employed to avert a tempest which might have overthrown them, at the same time that they affected to spare us the war; the most inconceivable folly of our government has been to suffer the kings to recover from their stupor, the nations to abandon their hopes, and to reduce the honour of its diplomacy to the avoiding of a struggle in which its enemies were neither willing nor able to engage. In short, if the honour of France, her reputation, her promises to the nations have been accounted for nothing by the royalty of July, I am not surprised at it; it is not the first time that private interests have predominated over the grand interest of the country. But how is it possible not

to feel that all the despotisms which live by our general life, not having abdicated with Charles X., could not forgive the revolution of July, but would deem it right to defer an attack till time and our intestine divisions should have stripped it of all that was impassioned, ambitious, popular, and formidable to tyranny!

This deplorable result our statesmen have taken great pains to produce; they have made France to foreigners just what they would wish her to be. Fear has beclouded the experience of these worthy men; egotism has intercepted the country from their view; they have urged on the future in direct opposition to the lessons of the past. In fact, this past ought at least to remind them of the similarity of position which existed between France and the Directory, and France and Louis-Philippe. At Campo Formio and at Rastadt the Directory, too, made peace with the whole Continent, and solemnly abjured all spirit of proselytism. What happened? A year after the conclusion of these treaties a general war broke out afresh in Europe. After the battles of Zurich and Marengo, the coalition, more seriously wounded, took three years to recruit itself; it did recruit itself, and then ensued another general

war, and history will, perhaps, some day admit that France fought as necessarily for the principles of 1789 at Austerlitz and Wagram, as at Jemappes and Fleurus.

The peace boasted of by the Ministry of the 13th of March, perfectly new in history, gives the lie to the intelligence and the facts which constitute the whole of European policy. All the obligations on one side, and none on the other. Now, what can spring from such a state of things but systems remaining the same, as has been the result of similar situations? To sum up—the coalition, disjointed in its organization, wounded in its vital principle by the revolution of July, has resumed its former position, and war with France is now evidently with our enemies a mere question of time and opportunity. The moral power of the revolution once extinct, all that they have to encounter will be but a mere war of the chess board, which perhaps will not be sparing to them of new treasons and sold laurels. And, if these melancholy forebodings should be realized, what energy, what prudence could guarantee the direction of events, and ensure a plank of safety to that throne, with feet of clay, which will so kindly have solicited the storm? Will it not then be

necessary to summon the sympathies of July in aid of the courage of our soldiers? It will, there can be no doubt, for, with the nation for auxiliary, another Waterloo would cost us only the loss of a battle, but reduced to an army to defend the revolution, one disastrous day might cost us an empire. But what shall revive the enthusiasm of the popular masses?—the dangers of the country? I believe so. But beside these dangers I see nothing but a power cruelly analyzed, and a throne without confidence, without influence, without magic.

I must confess my patriot blood boils at the idea of the men of the *doctrine* calling to their aid the men who shed their blood for liberty. They would dare do it, for seventeen years of chameleon life have proved that they dare do any thing. But the profound feeling of disgust and contempt which would burst forth against them from all classes of the nation—of what assistance would that be to the monarchy of the barricades? This is a question which it is to the interest of this monarchy to investigate beforehand. A promise would be given to adopt better principles, and to employ honester men. Louis XVIII. and Buonaparte promised the same thing

in 1815, and Charles X. in 1830. What became of Louis XVIII., Buonaparte, and Charles X.? And yet Buonaparte had glory on his side; Louis XVIII. and Charles X. had in their favour eight centuries of traditions and recollections. But as for Louis-Philippe, strip him of the popular majesty and he is stark naked. Seriously, what authority would a handful of obscure *doctrinaires* possess for upholding the work of the people, if the people were to withdraw themselves from it? Take away the revolution from this whole scaffolding of power, and to-morrow you who are reaping the benefit of this revolution will have neither a crown-piece, nor a soldier, nor a triumph.

CHAPTER XII.

Continuation of the preceding.—Notification of the Accession of Louis-Philip.—Insolence of the Emperor Nicholas and the Duke of Modena.—Lafayette in his Relations with Diplomacy.—Certain Cabinets send a Diplomatic Agent to him personally.—His interview with that Agent.—His system of Non-interference developed.

SUCH was the general disposition of men's minds relative to the question of peace and war, immediately after the revolution of 1830. Already did the royalty of the barricades waver in uncertainty between the appetite for a repose without security and without glory, and the apprehensions of a struggle which might sweep it away, if it allowed its enemies to strike the first blow. On the one hand, quiet and the stigmas of the treaties of Vienna and Paris, but withal the hope of a bill of indemnity and a monarchical

adoption; on the other, the flame of insurrection to kindle over the whole continent of Europe, the dust of camps to wipe off, the hazards of war to incur, but also the complete emancipation of France, the revival of all her glories, and the infallible enfranchisement of Europe.

The citizen-royalty would not understand that, independently of the necessity of establishing claims to the gratitude and respect of nations, there was one which no new dynasty had escaped —that of a baptism of glory and of blood. Born amid the thunder of the popular cannon, this royalty chose rather to endeavour to strengthen itself in servitude than to enter frankly into the traditional system of its ancient alliances.

However, setting aside the question of principles and propagandism, the foreign policy of this government, no sooner born than bastardized, was extremely simple. What, strictly speaking, was the point at issue? A question of territory. In fact, while France, after carrying her arms into every capital, found herself despoiled even of possessions which she had acquired between the years 1648 and 1789; and for which, be it observed by the way, she had given superabundant compensations, her enemies had immoderately

extended their territories. Austria, for example, had aggrandized and established herself at the same time in Germany, Poland, Turkey, and Italy; she had acquired rich means of internal navigation, ports, and maritime commerce. Prussia, formerly of the third order, had rapidly raised herself to the rank of a preponderating power, by slices taken from all the neighbouring states, from the Niemen to Thionville. Russia, which did not even exist when France was the first power in the world, had extended herself on all the points of her immense circumference, and by a necessary consequence of her progressive system of conquest, as well as by the policy of her family alliances; this empire had acquired such a preponderance as not to suffer the west to be at war but by her impulsion, or, at peace but by her tolerance. I shall say nothing about England: every body knows how many rich domains and important military positions in the seas of Europe and Asia she obtained by the treaty which disinherited France. The Ionian islands, the Isle of France, the Cape of Good Hope, &c. &c. are some of the acquisitions with which British disinterestedness contented itself.

Such was the respective situation of France

and of the foreign powers at the moment when the revolution of July deranged all the elements of European public right. Now, confining the question to the isolated interest of France, setting aside all community of principles, wants, and sympathies, there was still left for a national government the imperative duty of reclaiming the frontiers necessary for the defence of the country. Let us not be told of the fears still excited by the convulsions of the republic, and the glorious days of the Empire. The republic was not able to conquer liberty for itself but by conquering peace for others; and the treaties sufficiently attest its justice, and its imprudent generosity after victory. As for the Empire, making and unmaking kings at the pleasure of a fortunate soldier, it was not France, it was the army of Bonaparte, unfaithful to the revolution, and returning in full sail into the system of the ancient monarchies; and for the rest, history will perhaps bear witness, that if the Empire overran Europe, it was called to do so by the coalitions formed in 1789.

Setting aside proselytism and liberalism, it behoved the government of July to provide for our future security, and to re-establish the equilibrium which the weakness of a degenerate power had

suffered to be deranged. In this respect the revolution of 1830 might, even in unskilful hands, have become at least the guarantee of our national independence. The elected royalty has made it nothing more than a convulsion similar to those which disgrace the latter ages of the Roman empire.

You were unwilling, you allege, to compromise the peace of Europe. You have prostituted the life and the majesty of the revolution which made you; your indecision, your pusillanimity, your incapacity, have exhausted the courage and the patriotic perseverance of nations, extinguished the revolutionary impulsion in France, and kindled the indignation of all free men against you. Do you think that in thus doing you have averted the storm? Do you imagine that your illegitimacy is on that account more or less overlooked by the old monarchies? Yes, it may be for a few months, or a few years perhaps. But what are those months, those years? what are you to the life of France? Look at Poland annihilated; the barriers between barbarism and civilization broken down; Russia ready to set about the dismemberment of Prussia by the separation of her Polish provinces; and the North ready to rush upon the

South: look at this result of your genius, and dare to calculate how much blood will one day be required to rescue mangled Europe from the grasp of the despot who greeted your accession with a slap in the face.

Be this as it may, the first measure of foreign policy taken by the Ministry of Louis Philippe was the notification to foreign Courts of the accession of that prince to the throne of France. England was the first to recognize the new king; the adhesion of Austria, Prussia, and the secondary States of Germany, speedily followed that of the Cabinet of St. James's; Spain deferred her answer, and published a circular as insulting to the new monarch as to the nation which had elected him; the princeling of Modena insolently protested against *usurpation;* and, lastly, it was only after a long delay, and strong solicitations, that M. Athalin obtained from the Emperor Nicholas the strange answer which the Autocrat condescended to return to the letter, though sufficiently humble, which had been addressed to him by the King of the French. It will be recollected in what terms that overture was couched, and that by an incredible forgetfulness of the national dignity, the Cabinet of the Palais Royal

called the glorious events which had just placed the crown of France on the head of the Duke of Orleans *a catastrophe*. This humiliation received its chastisement in the answer of the Czar, which I quote here as the historical document fittest to serve for a specimen of the bitter pills which the monarchy of July submitted to swallow.

Cabinet Letter of His Majesty the Emperor of all the Russias to His Majesty the King of the French, dated Zarsko-Selo, September 13*th*, 1830.

"I have received from the hands of General Athalin the letter of which he was the bearer. Events *ever to be deplored* have placed your Majesty in a cruel alternative. You have taken a determination which appeared to you the only one capable of saving France from greater calamities, and I shall express no opinion upon the considerations which have guided your Majesty; but I pray that Divine Providence may be pleased to bless your intentions, and the efforts which you are about to make for the happiness of the French people. In concert with my allies, I am gratified with the wish expressed by your Majesty to maintain relations of peace and amity with all the

states of Europe: *so long as they shall be based on existing treaties, and on a firm determination to respect the rights and obligations, as well as the state of territorial possession which they have consecrated.* Europe will find therein a guarantee of peace, so necessary to the repose of France herself. Called jointly with my allies to cultivate these conservative relations with France under your government, I will bestow upon them for my part all the care which they deserve, and the dispositions with which I offer to your Majesty the assurance of the return of the sentiments which you have expressed. I beg you to accept at the same time, &c. &c.

"NICHOLAS."

What unworthy language, then, had been put into the mouth of France?

Before the battle of Denain, when the fate of the crown depended upon the chances of the fight, Louis XIV. wrote as follows to Villars:

"If you are beaten, I will go through Paris with the infamous proposals of the enemy in my hand, and the French nation will follow me. We will go and bury ourselves together beneath the ruins of the monarchy."

That king, at least, was acquainted with the character of his country.

Be this as it may, the emperor's letter caused great uneasiness at the Palais Royal. The omission of the appellation of *my brother*, which had been lavishly used in the autograph notification, was, above all, considered with alarm as a positive denial of the positive right conferred by the will of the people at the conclusion of the *catastrophe*. It was then felt that it might be possible that the humiliations already submitted to might be thrown away, and that it might be necessary, as a last resource, to recur to the popular sympathies against legitimate disaffections. It was deemed expedient to return to the idea already adopted, as I shall presently prove; and, weighing the affinities and aversions of nations, to push in secret the work of propagandism, whilst ostensibly the government should continue to pursue a course of self-denial by censuring every revolution similar to that from which it had itself sprung, and begging pardon for the glorious work, and pardon for the great people.

It is of consequence to the due appreciation of the men who still direct the politics of France, as well as to the understanding of our real situation

at present, to follow attentively all the proofs which confirm the duplicity of their policy towards nations and kings, towards France and foreign countries. History has few instances so strong to offer for the study of doctrinarianism.

The Belgian revolution, which Lafayette called the eldest daughter of ours, was the first touchstone, as it were, applied by events to the uncertain and dilatory policy of the Palais-Royal. It was above all, with reference to the respective situation of France and Belgium, that the revolution of July ought to have assailed the treaties of 1814 and 1815. Indeed, the erection of a line of fortresses along the whole southern frontier of Belgium, their inspection committed to an English general, and the occupation of Luxemburg by the Germanic Confederation, constituted a permanent attack on our security, and furnished our natural enemies with the means of an easy aggression upon our territories. To leave this country in the hands of foreigners, was therefore abandoning to them the culminating point of a sudden attack upon the capital by two important points.

On surveying these perils, the policy of a Richelieu or a Pitt would not have wavered; it would have chosen one of three measures which pre-

sented themselves successively to the adoption of the popular royalty. Either Belgium and Luxemburg would have been re united to France, as the medium of keeping aloof from it a centre of invasion, and neutralizing the political and commercial influence of England in that country; or Belgium left at liberty to place herself under the naturally friendly and allied government of the Duke of Leuchtenberg, would have equally covered the vulnerable side of our frontiers; or lastly, by the election of the Duke of Nemours to the Belgian throne, France would have directly obtained the two-fold result of insuring her independence, and withdrawing a neighbouring nation from the yoke of England.

Each of these combinations was too manly for the trembling policy of the *juste milieu*. From blunder after blunder, this bastard policy has arrived at this Anglo-Belgic system, the immediate or speedy consequences of which are—1. the increase of British preponderance, freed from the clogs which the mixed state of the duchy of Luxemburg still imposed; 2. Antwerp exclusively won to British interests; 3. the principal citadels still standing, and France still obliged to pass under the English cannon to go to Belgium; 4. and

lastly, a new degree of continental power granted to England, and for her commerce an assured line of fraudulent infiltrations, which must necessarily accomplish the annihilation of the products of our commerce and industry.

Such has been, up to this day, the conclusion of the Belgian affairs. Sophistries are still employed in favour of this system of peace at any price; but either sound reason is but a vain word, or France will, without delay, call the men of the 7th of August to a severe account, for this primitive abandonment of her most essential interests.

Be this as it may, if the ministry of the 7th of August mistook these great interests, it was sensible, at least, that its existence depended on guaranteeing the new state of all foreign interference, and circumscribing the struggle between Holland and Belgium. Hence the first idea of its system of non-interference, proclaimed at the earnest solicitation of Lafayette. That General, still all-powerful, himself believed also that it would be sufficient for France that Belgium should be independent, free, and at liberty to give herself any constitution she pleased, in order that our country should find in her a natural and necessary ally. This opinion was adopted by the ministry, and

erected into a system by M. Molé, who, on this occasion, displayed a firmness, and spoke a language worthy of France and of the revolution. This minister signified to all the Powers, and particularly to Holland and Prussia, that the interference of a single foreign regiment in the affairs of Belgium, would be the signal for the entry of fifty thousand Frenchmen into the territory of that state. This declaration was repeated by Lafayette at an interview which he had with the representatives of the powers, at the office of the minister for foreign affairs, which he left thoroughly convinced that the cabinets of Europe were much more apprehensive than ourselves, of the consequences of a war against the men and the doctrines of July.

This is the proper place for adverting to the foreign policy of Lafayette, and exhibiting him in his direct relations with the patriots of all nations —relations which have furnished a theme for so many calumnies and absurd interpretations. But before I arrive at these particulars, I ought to explain the general intentions of the system which he adopted subsequently to the events of July, and from which he has never deviated since that time.

In the first days of August, being on duty at the head-quarters of Lafayette, I had the honour to introduce to him one of the most important personages in modern diplomacy. This was M. de Humboldt, who came to ask the general-in-chief confidentially what were his political principles, in regard to foreign powers, under the new circumstances in which France was placed. Lafayette replied, that the foreign affairs did not concern him, and that he ought to address himself to the minister at the head of that department; on which M. de Humboldt frankly acknowledged that he was directed, not only by his own government, but also by some other preponderating cabinets, to ascertain his personal intentions, and to report these to them. Having been present at this important conversation, I have it in my power to give a correct report of Lafayette's answer, the marked expressions of which I lost no time in committing to my tablets.

"Since you wish it," said he to M. de Humboldt, "I will think aloud with you. We have accomplished a popular revolution; we have chosen a popular throne; we wish that it should be surrounded with republican institutions; we will not allow any person whatever to interfere

in our affairs, neither will we interfere with those of our neighbours. If your people are content with their governments, so much the better for you; if discussions should arise between your people and you, it is not for us to interpose; but if other nations are determined to follow our example, we will not suffer foreign governments to send their counter-revolutionary gendarmeries against them; and we consider Poland and Russia as forming one and the same nation. You must be sensible that we cannot allow the vital principle of our existence, that of the national sovereignty, to be attacked among other nations by foreigners; that it is impossible to permit nations who may become our allies to be crushed, in case of war with arbitrary governments; that we cannot let you direct, by peace, the first phrase of a manifesto against us, and sanction pretensions which would authorise you to make an ulterior war upon us. We wish to remain at peace with all our neighbours; we have not carried into our revolution any sort of ambition, whatever claims we might have to make, whatever retaliation we might have to take. But if, in spite of our moderation, you form another coalition against us; if you repeat what you did at Pilnitz, and what has

been continued, more or less, for forty-two years, it will be a proof to us that our liberty is incompatible with your arbitrary diplomacy; if you attempt to enter our country, it can only be with the intention of enslaving, perhaps of partitioning us; then it will be our duty and our right to meet you with the arms of liberty, and to raise our population against you, as much as it is in our power to do; and if your thrones cannot be reconciled with the independence and liberty of France, it will be our interest not to lay down our arms till those thrones shall be demolished and annihilated. If, on the contrary, you leave us in quiet, if you do not attempt to stifle liberty among neighbouring nations, which would constitute a direct and flagrant hostility against our social existence, you shall have no cause to complain either of France, or of the revolution of July."

Lafayette has repeated this declaration of principles in all the speeches which he has delivered from the tribune. Thus on the 28th of January, 1831, he made in that place the following remarkable profession of faith:—

"Gentlemen," said he, "diplomacy, formerly occult and complicated, will daily become more simple and popular; the press divulges its mys-

teries, the tribune judges them, the public opinion modifies them; family calculations and cabinet traditions must give way to the interests and the will of nations. In coming to-day to bear a part in the political conversations of these two Sittings, I shall not plead either for war or peace; that is not the question. Nobody calls for war—every one would prefer peace; but I came to establish certain facts, the truth of which we must maintain, and abide by the consequences, for they are identified with French honour and with our social existence.

" I have already said in this tribune that I saw in the world but two classes, the *oppressors* and the *oppressed;* I will now say that two principles divide Europe, the *sovereign right of the people* and the *right divine of kings;* on the one hand *liberty and equality,* on the other *despotism and privilege.* I know not whether these two principles can live like good neighbours, but this I know that ours is in constant, sure, inevitable progression; that we ought to adhere to it in every thing and every where, and that any hostility against us will accelerate its triumph.

" Another, not less evident truth, notwithstanding all that has been said concerning the respect

due to existing treaties is, that as our last revolution in July has, of right, annulled certain articles of the charter conceded to us, in like manner, it has necessarily annulled certain of those treaties, and of those articles of the congresses of Vienna and of 1815; those, for example, which ensured the throne of France to Louis XVIII. and his family, and united Belgium with Holland. The minister for foreign affairs has just asked us; 'As a condition of breaking existing treaties, would you have war?'—'Yes,' I should reply, 'as concerns the treaties which I have mentioned; this is what France has answered; it is what he himself has answered.'

"I might advert to other articles of these treaties incompatible with our liberty and our independence, such as the conventions for the cession of French territory; and be it observed by the way, that these treaties were not made between us and our enemies, but by themselves—by themselves, who placed one of their number in the Tuileries, to traffic with our honour and our liberties.

"A third point, equally evident, was stated by me the other day in this tribune, in the presence and with the consent of all the king's ministers,

and especially of the minister for foreign affairs. I am very sure that none of them will this day contradict the definition which I gave, namely, that whenever a nation, a country of Europe, wheresoever situated, shall reclaim its rights, shall determine to exercise its sovereignty, all interference of foreign governments to oppose it shall be equivalent to a direct and formal declaration of war against France, not only by our duties to the cause of humanity, but because it is a direct attack upon the principle of our existence, a revival of the principles of Pilnitz and the holy alliance, the justification of a future invasion of ourselves, a manifest design to crush our natural allies, in order to come afterwards and destroy the germ of liberty in our bosom, among us who are placed at the head of European civilization.

"If the consequence of these facts, of these principles, leads to war, no doubt we must submit to the necessity, and we should have for carrying it on, those fifteen hundred thousand national guards, that five hundred thousand soldiers, citizens also, of whom the president of the council made mention in this tribune. I thank the minister at war for the brilliant and accurate picture which he has just delineated.

"An expression of Mr. Canning's has been quoted to you; it is not like him, with our eyes shut, but with them wide open that we will employ our strength; and to remind you of another expression of that minister's, respecting the patriot auxiliaries which he foresaw; that which in him might have been deemed a sally of vanity it would be easy, as you know, for us to realize.

"I proceed to the affairs of Belgium, gentlemen, our conduct towards her, when our government was scarcely formed, has been frank and generous. A positive declaration was made to foreign courts, that if Prussian troops, or any others set foot in Belgium, we would immediately enter that country. We have recognized its independence. There I could wish that the king's government had stopped. I should have said to the Belgians; will you form a republic; a northern Switzerland, without an aristocracy? we will support you. Will you elect an hereditary chief from among yourselves, or elsewhere? be it so; it is your affair; it depends on yourselves alone; and if the free choice had fallen on the Duke of Nemours, I would have conjured, I would still conjure the King of the French not to withhold his consent.

"As for the reunion to France, that is not a question for me, whatever other persons may think: but if, indeed, the majority of the Belgian people were desirous of this reunion, and in this case well authenticated, as it is my opinion that the king alone has no right either to accept or refuse this reunion, I would make the proposal to all the branches of the legislative body. And what powers would have a right to oppose it? Not those which concluded the treaties of Luneville and Amiens. Would they have had more affection for Napoleon than for Louis Philippe? Would they fear us less at this day? Gentlemen, it would be a great mistake in them; for our popular throne has not been afraid to surround itself with a whole armed nation, appointing its own officers, and our force is immense.

"An abler diplomatist than I am* has so well described the state of Poland, that little remains for me to say on that subject. It would be strange if the king's government, which has just defended the existing treaties were not to demand energetically the execution of that which by chance emanated from the congress of Vienna,

M. Bignon.

since it establishes the independence of Poland, since it protects that nation, our most faithful friend, who has shed so much blood for us, and whose existence forms a barrier against invasion from the barbarians of the North. Duty and honour require that the government should energetically insist on the execution of these treaties, the maintenance of this barrier.

" Formerly the instinct of the great Frederick revealed to him the dangers of the partition; at least he yielded to it only at the urgent solicitations of the Empress of Russia: *he told me so himself.* Austria too, and that is not a liberal government, has frequently felt the same impression, and if I am rightly informed, it has recently been expressed by M. de Metternich, the least liberal of all the Austrians."

" As for England, gentlemen, lately so jealous of Russia, would she not have the same feeling except towards the Turks? Do I not see moreover, at the head of that administration the illustrious men who have so nobly done honour to themselves by their speeches against the partitions of Poland? Do I not there see the members of that society, not numerous it is true, but celebrated, whence issued the best and most

energetic work in favour of Polish independence?"

"Let us then hope that the government, in performing a sacred duty, will find facilities for efficaciously serving the cause of Europe!"

"I owe my thanks to one of our honourable colleagues* for having furnished me an occasion which I should have been afraid to usurp, to state from this tribune that there exists a Polish committee, destined to give to our brethren of Poland all the proofs of sympathy, to send to them all the succours in our power, and I have the honour to inform all my colleagues of the Chamber that their donations will be received by us with great pleasure and thankfulness.

"In like manner there was formed, some time ago, a Greek committee, and I take this opportunity to express a wish that the Government would turn its attention to the fixing, at length, of large and suitable limits for that country, including the island of Candia, so much the more interesting, inasmuch as when the Candiotes had armed to complete the expulsion of the Turks, they were stopped by the interference of the maritime powers.

* M. Dupin, senior.

"Portugal was yesterday brought under your notice. Gentlemen, I rejoice to think that the king's government is anxious to make the name and colours of France respected in every country. I have been told of insults offered to our flag at St. Ubes, of a Frenchman paraded and flogged in the streets of another town. We have been called *scoundrels* in an official journal, written under the auspices of the assassin of the Marquis de Loulé, the warmest friend of the king, his father.

"At the mention of Portugal I am indignant that any one should have mixed up the term 'sovereignty of the people' with the name of that *cowardly and cruel tyrant*, as he was so well designated by his protector, Lord Aberdeen. It is as though one were to call the system of 1793 a *republic*, and the massacre of St. Bartholomew *religion*. Let us not negotiate, then, with Don Miguel, but let him be punished; he deserves to be driven out; he shall be. . . . .

"Gentlemen, I have submitted to you some principles, which I believe to be true, which it is of importance to our existence to support, and by all the consequences of which we must abide."

A month afterwards he spoke as follows:—

"My Belgian diplomacy has always been very

simple. To lose no time in recognizing the independence of Belgium; to forbid the neighbouring powers to march troops into its territory: this is what has been done, and rightly done. Not to intermeddle with their institutions or their elections; this is what should have been done. Now that we have entered upon the career of protocols, it remains for the French government to defend the integrity of the territory of the Belgians, so evidently traced by their representation in the States-General, and the declaration of independence of their provinces.

"Would it not be very inconsistent, gentlemen, for those powers which have with reason recognized the separation of Belgium from Holland, to pretend to consider Russia and Poland, so distinct in every respect, and declared so by the Congress of Vienna, as one and the same empire, and not to find a manifest violation of the principle of non-interference in the entry of the Polish territory by the Russians, whatever may have been said on the subject, not only by the friends of liberty and reason, but, what is a totally different thing, by the very acts of that congress?

"With respect to Italy, in like manner as I did justice to the strong and explicit declaration

addressed by the late ministry to the powers bordering on Belgium, so I rejoice to think that a similar declaration, without weakness or exception, has been transmitted to the powers contigious to the new Italian States; and I have reason to believe that the minister for foreign affairs will neither repudiate this assertion nor the commendation which it involves.

"I shall merely observe that it is strange that the Duke of Modena, whom we have known as a bad correspondent, and whom his country has not found to be a good prince, having conveyed a prisoner to Mantua, this prisoner, M. Menotti, was detained in the prison of a foreign country, as being the only subject left him: and if we did not know what Austrian prisons are, we might form some notion of them from certain particulars with which we have been furnished concerning the present state of the prisoners of Spigelberg.

"But what one cannot comprehend, gentlemen, in civilized Europe, is the manner in which the neighbours of Poland behave towards her. Prussia, for example, has seized all the funds belonging to the Bank of Warsaw, which were deposited in the Bank of Berlin, and belonged not to the crown, but to the state and to private individuals. She

arrests travellers, takes from them their money, imprisons them; and all these outrages, which remind one of certain forests that were formerly famous, are committed under the influence of the Russian ambassador who reigns at Berlin. In my opinion this sort of interference ought to be made the subject of diplomatic remonstrance."

In all his conversations with Louis Philippe, in all his discussions with the different members of the cabinet, Lafayette loudly and constantly professed the same principles. Hence that torrent of hatred and invective directed against him by all the aristocracies of Europe;* hence also the efforts of foreign diplomacy, whose influence decided the conduct which the cabinet of the Palais Royal pursued in regard to him, as soon as that cabinet had resolved to conciliate the holy alliance by neutralizing the patriotic excitement of France, and leaving an open field for the policy of the despotic cabinets against those nations which might wish to regenerate themselves after our

* Respecting this hatred with which the European aristocracies honour Lafayette, Napoleon once said to him: "All these people thoroughly detest me: they detest all of us; but, pooh! it is nothing to the hatred they have for you; I should not have conceived that human hatred could go so far." And Napoleon was well qualified to be a judge of such matters.

example. The presence of Lafayette in the councils of the new royality, his influence over the direction of affairs, his power at the head of the armed nation made him a bugbear for the absolutists abroad as well as for those at home; and I hold a material proof that diplomacy made his removal the necessary condition of any ulterior transaction with the cabinet of the Palais Royal.

END OF VOL ONE.

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